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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH AN

ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infami ametus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. s. 65.

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ASIA,
Designed for the Works of
TACITUS,
By Robert de Vaugondy,
Royal Geographer,
and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nantz.
SCYTHIA
DACIA
MOESIA
MACEDONIA
THRACIA
MARE PONTICUM
Aorsi
Siraci
Henjochi
Dandarida
ALBANIA
MARE CASPIUM
IBERIA
Isichi
Bithynia
Galatia
Pontus
ARMENIA
Cappadocia
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pamphilia
cilicia
Dahæ
PARTHI
Arii
HYRCANIA
BACTRIANA
Tauranmites
Mardi
Adiabene
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Elymæi
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Chaldæi
PERSÆ
CARMANIA
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE RUBRUM
ARABES
Nabatæi
SINUS ARABICUS
SYRIA
Judæa
Galilæa
Iturææi
Phœnicia
Cyprus
Creta I.
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
Carpathium Mare
MARE AEGEUM
IONIUM MARE
Peloponnesus
LIBYA
AEGYPTUS
Memphis
Heliopolis
Thebæ
Milliaria Romana
0 75 150 225 300 375 450 525

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

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These transactions include two years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
800	47	*Claudius, 4th time, Lucius Vitellius, 3d time.*
801	48	*Aulus Vitellius, L. Vipsanius.*

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

I. MESSALINA was convinced that Poppæa had been for some time engaged in a course of adultery with Valerius Asiaticus, who had enjoyed the honour of two consulships. She had, besides, an eye to the elegant gardens, formerly the pride of Lucullus, which Asiaticus had improved in the highest taste and magnificence. Bent on the destruction of Poppæa and her lover, she suborned Suillius (*a*) to carry on the prosecution. Sosibius, the tutor of Britannicus, entered into the conspiracy. This man had the ear of Claudius. In secret whispers, and under a mask of friendship, he alarmed the emperor with the ne-

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cessity of being on his guard against the machinations of his enemies. "Overgrown "wealth," he said, "in the hands of a pri- "vate citizen, is always big with danger to "the reigning prince. When Caligula fell, "Asiaticus was the principal actor in that "bloody tragedy. He owned the fact in "a full assembly of the people, and claimed "the glory of the deed (*b*). That bold ex- "ploit has made him popular at Rome; "his fame is spread through the provinces: "and, even now, he meditates a visit to the "German armies. Born at Vienne (*c*), he "has great family interest and powerful "connections in Gaul. A man thus sup- "ported will be able to incite his country- "men to a revolt." The hint was enough for Claudius. Without further enquiry, he dispatched Crispinus, who commanded the prætorian guards, with a band of soldiers. Their march resembled a body of troops going on a warlike expedition. Asiaticus was seized at Baiæ, and brought to Rome in chains.

II. He was not suffered to appear before the senate. The cause was heard in the

emperor's chamber, in the presence of Messalina. Suillius stood forth as prosecutor. He stated the corruption of the army, and accused Asiaticus as the author of it. By bribes, by largesses, and by the practice of abominable vices, the soldiers were seduced from their duty: they were prepared for any enterprise, however atrocious. The crime of adultery with Poppæa helped to swell the charge; and, to crown all, the prisoner had unmanned himself by his unnatural passions. Stung to the quick by this imputation, Asiaticus turned to the prosecutor, "And ask your sons," he said; "they will tell you that I am a man." He went into his defence in such a strain of pathetic eloquence, that Claudius felt the strongest emotions. Even Messalina dropped a tear. She left the room to wipe the gush of nature from her eyes, but first charged Vitellius not to suffer the prisoner to escape. In the mean time, she hastened the destruction of Poppæa. She sent her agents to alarm her with the horrors of a jail, and drive her, by that dismal prospect, to an act of desperation. Her malice was unknown to Claudius. He was so little in the

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secret, that, a few days afterwards, having invited Scipio as his guest, he asked him, "Why his wife was not of the party (*a*)?" Scipio made answer, "She is dead."

III. CLAUDIUS was, for some time, in suspense. He was inclined to favour Asiaticus, but Vitellius interposed. With tears in his eyes, he talked of the friendship which had long subsisted between the prisoner and himself; he mentioned their mutual habits at the court of Antonia, the emperor's mother; he stated the public merit of Asiaticus; and, in particular, the glory of his late expedition into Britain: he omitted nothing that could excite compassion, but, at last, concluded (with a stroke of treachery), that to allow him to choose his mode of dying was an indulgence due to so distinguished a character. This cruel species of clemency was adopted by Claudius. The friends of Asiaticus recommended abstinence, as a mode of death easy and gradual. He scorned the pretended lenity, and betook himself to his usual exercises. He bathed and supped with alacrity of mind. "To die," he said,

" by the intrigues of an artful woman, or " the treachery of a debauched and pro- " fligate impostor, such as Vitellius, was " an ignominious catastrophe. He envied " those who perished by the systematic " cruelty of Tiberius, or the headlong fury " of Caligula." Having declared these sentiments, he opened a vein, and bled to death. Before he gave himself the mortal wound, he had the fortitude to survey his funeral pile. Perceiving that the flame might reach the branches of the trees, and hurt the shade of his garden, he ordered it to be removed to a more distant spot. Such was the tranquillity with which he encountered death.

IV. The senate was convened. Suillius followed his blow. He preferred an accusation against two Roman knights, of the name of Petra; both distinguished by their rank and character. The crime objected to them was, that they had made their house convenient to Poppæa, when she carried on her intrigue with Mnester. The charge against one of them imported, that, in a dream, his imagination presented to

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him the figure of Claudius crowned with a sheaf of corn, but the ears inverted downward. This vision was understood by the criminal as the prognostic of an approaching famine. Some will have it, that the wreath consisted of vine branches, with the leaves entirely faded; and this was deemed an omen of the emperor's death towards the end of the ensuing autumn. Whatever it might be, it is certain that it was held to be an act of treason. The two brothers died for a dream. By a decree of the senate, Crispinus was rewarded with fifteen thousand sesterces, and the prætorian dignity. On the motion of Vitellius, a vote of ten thousand sesterces passed in favour of Sosibius, the preceptor of Britannicus, and the faithful adviser of the emperor. In the debate on this occasion, Scipio was called upon for his opinion: he rose, and said, "Since the conduct of my wife Poppæa "must appear to me in the same light that "it does to this assembly, let me be thought "to concur with the general voice." A delicate stroke of prudence, yielding to the necessity of the times, yet not forgetting the ties of conjugal affection.

V. From this time, the rage of Suillius knew no bounds. A number of others followed in the same track, all rivals in iniquity. The constitution had been long since annihilated; the functions of the magistrates were wrested out of their hands; the will of the prince was the law; and, by consequence, the crew of informers grew rich by injustice and oppression. Their eloquence was put up to sale, like any other commodity at market. Samius, a Roman knight of distinction, has left a memorable instance. He had retained Suillius with a fee of ten thousand crowns; but finding that his cause was betrayed, he went to the house of the perfidious orator, and fell upon his own sword. To check this fatal mischief, a motion was made in the senate by Caius Silius, then consul elect. Of this man, his elevation, and his downfall, due notice will be taken hereafter. He represented, in strong colours, the avarice of the advocates. The fathers, with one voice, agreed to revive the Cincian law (*a*), by which it was ordained in ancient times, that no advocate,

BOOK XI. for a fee, or gratuity of any kind, should prostitute his talents.

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VI. The informers opposed the motion. They saw that the blow was aimed at themselves. Silius grew more eager. He was at open enmity with Suillius, and, for that reason, pressed the business with his utmost vigour. He cited the orators of ancient times, men of pure and upright principles, who considered honest fame, and the fair applause of posterity, as the true reward of genius. "Eloquence," he said, "the first of liberal arts, if it conde-
"scended to be let out for hire, was no
"better than a sordid trade. If it be-
"came mercenary, and sold itself to the
"highest bidder, no truth can be ex-
"pected; integrity is at an end. Take
"from venal oratory all its views of in-
"terest, and the number of suitors will, of
"course, be diminished. In the reigning
"corruption of the modern forum, private
"feuds, mutual accusations, family quar-
"rels, hatred, and animosity, are kept
"alive. The practisers live by the pas-

"sions of mankind, as physicians thrive "by an epidemic distemper. Call to "mind Caius Asinius, Marcus Messala, "and, among the names of more recent "date, remember the Arruntii and the "Æserini; men who never set themselves "up to auction; never made a bargain "and sale of their talents, but rose by "their integrity and their unbought elo- "quence to the highest honours of the "state." This speech from the consul elect was heard with general approbation. The fathers were on the point of declaring, by a decree, that all who took the wages of oratory should be deemed guilty of extortion. Suillius and Cossutianus, with many others who were conscious of their evil practices, clearly saw, that if the decree passed the senate, it would be nothing less than a vote of pains and penalties against themselves. To ward off the blow, they pressed round the emperor, praying an indemnity for past transactions. Claudius seeming by a nod to assent to their petition, they took courage, and argued their case as follows:

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VII. "WHERE is the orator who can "flatter himself that his name will reach "posterity? The interests of society re- "quire advocates by profession, men versed "in questions of right and wrong, and "ready, as well as able, to protect the "weak against the proud and affluent. "But eloquence is not a gratuitous gift; "it is acquired by toil and industry. To "conduct the affairs of others, the orator "neglects his own concerns. Life is varie- "gated with different employments: some "betake themselves to the profession of "arms; others to the arts of husbandry: "no man embraces a particular calling, "without having beforehand made an esti- "mate of the profit. Asinius and Messala "have been cited: but it was easy for men "in their situation, enriched as they were "in the civil wars between Augustus and "Anthony, to forego all further views of "emolument. It was easy for the Arruntii "and the Æserini, the heirs of great and "opulent families, to act with an elevation "of mind superior to the profits of the bar. "And yet, we are not now to learn what

"prodigious sums Publius Clodius and "Caius Curio received as the reward of "their eloquence. As to ourselves, we "have not the advantages of fortune: in a "time of profound tranquillity, it is but "just that we should be allowed to live "by the arts of peace. The case of "men descended from plebeian families "merits consideration. Without the ca-"reer of eloquence, they have no way to "emerge from obscurity. Take from men "the just fruit of their studies, and learn-"ing will grow to seed." This reasoning was far from honourable, but it had weight with Claudius. He took a middle course, and fixed the legal perquisite at the sum of ten thousand sesterces. All who presumed to transgress that line were to be deemed guilty of extortion, by law compellable to refund.

VIII. About this time Mithridates, who, as has been mentioned, swayed the sceptre of Armenia, and was brought in chains to the tribunal of Caligula *(a)*, was released by the direction of Claudius. He set out from Rome to take possession of

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his kingdom, relying on the support of his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia. By advices from that monarch, it appeared that the Parthian state was convulsed by internal divisions, and, while the regal diadem was at stake, a people so distracted among themselves would not have leisure to engage in foreign wars. Gotarzes had seized the throne of Parthia, and spilt a deluge of blood. He had murdered his own brother Artabanus, with his wife and son, and by these, and other acts of cruelty, gave his subjects nothing to expect but slaughter and desolation. Determined to shake off the yoke, the people planned a revolution in favour of Bardanes, the surviving brother of Gotarzes. This prince was by nature formed for enterprise. In two days he made a march of no less than three thousand furlongs. He took Gotarzes by surprise, attacked him with sudden fury, and obliged him to consult his safety by flight. He pushed on with vigour to the adjacent provinces, and all, except Seleucia *(b)*, submitted without resistance. The inhabitants of that city shut their gates. Fired with indignation

against a people, who had offered the same affront to his father, Bardanes yielded to the impulse of resentment, instead of pursuing the measures which prudence dictated. He staid to amuse himself with the siege of a place strong by nature, well fortified, amply provided with stores, and on one side defended by a rapid river (*c*). Gotarzes, in the mean time, having obtained succours from the Dahans (*d*) and Hyrcanians, returned with a powerful army to renew the war. Bardanes was compelled to raise the siege of Seleucia. He retired to the plains of Bactria, and there pitched his camp.

IX. While the east was thus thrown into convulsions, and the fate of Parthia hung on the doubtful event, Mithridates seized the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Armenia. The Roman legions and the Iberians supported the enterprise. By the former, all the forts and places of strength were levelled to the ground, and by the latter, the open country was laid waste. The Armenians, under the conduct of Demonax, at that time governor

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of the country, hazarded a battle, and, being defeated, were no longer able to make a stand. The new settlement, however, was for some time retarded by Cotys (*a*), king of the lesser Armenia. A party of the nobles had declared in his favour; but, being intimidated by letters from Claudius, they abandoned their project. Mithridates mounted the throne of Armenia, with more ferocity than became a prince in the opening of a new reign. Meanwhile, the competitors for the Parthian monarchy, in the moment when they were going to try the issue of a decisive action, agreed on terms of peace. A conspiracy had been formed against them both; but being detected by Gotarzes, the two brothers came to an interview. The meeting was at first conducted with reserve on both sides. After balancing for some time, they embraced; and, taking each other by the hand, bound themselves by an oath before the altar of the gods, to join with their united force, in order to punish the treachery of their enemies, and, on equitable terms, to compromise the war. The people declared

for Bardanes. Gotarzes, accordingly, resigned his pretensions; and, to remove all cause of jealousy, withdrew to the remotest parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes returned in triumph; and Seleucia threw open her gates, after having, during a siege of seven years, stood at bay with the whole power of the Parthian monarchy, to the disgrace of a people, who, in such a length of time, were unable to reduce that city to subjection.

X. Bardanes, without delay, made himself master of the most important provinces. He intended to invade Armenia; but Vibius Marsus, the governor of Syria, threatening to repel him by force, he abandoned the project. Meanwhile, Gotarzes had leisure to repent of his abdication. The Parthian nobility, who in peaceful times are always impatient of the yoke of slavery, invited him to return. Roused by the call of the people, he soon collected a powerful army. Bardanes marched to meet him as far as the banks of the Erinde (*a*). The passage over the river was warmly disputed. After many sharp

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engagements, Bardanes prevailed. He pushed his conquest with uninterrupted success as far as the river Sinden, which flows between the Dahi and the territory of the Arians. His career of victory ended at that place. Though flushed with the success of their arms, the Parthians disliked a war in regions so far remote. To mark, however, the progress of the victorious troops, and to perpetuate the glory of having put under contribution so many distant nations, where the Arsacides had never penetrated, Bardanes raised a monument on the spot, and marched back to Parthia, proud of his exploits, more oppressive than ever, and, by consequence, more detested. A conspiracy was formed to cut him off; and accordingly, while the king on a hunting party, void of all suspicion, pursued the pleasures of the chase, his enemies fell upon him with sudden fury. Bardanes, in the prime and vigour of his days, expired under repeated blows. The glory of his reign, however short, would have eclipsed the few of his predecessors who enjoyed a length of days, if to gain the hearts of his people had been as

much his ambition, as it was to render himself the terror of his enemies. By his death the kingdom was once more thrown into commotions. The choice of a successor divided the whole nation into factions. A large party adhered to Gotarzes; others declared for Meherdetes, a descendant of Phraates, at that time a hostage in the hands of the Romans. The interest of Gotarzes proved the strongest; but the people, in a short time, weary of his cruelty and wild profusion, sent a private embassy to Rome, requesting that the emperor would be graciously pleased to send Meherdetes to fill the throne of his ancestors.

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XI. During the same consulship, in the year of Rome eight hundred, the secular games were celebrated, after an interval of sixty-four years since they were last solemnized in the reign of Augustus. The chronology observed by Augustus differed from the system of Claudius: but this is not the place for a discussion of that point. I have been sufficiently explicit on the subject in the history of Domitian (*a*),

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who likewise gave an exhibition of the secular games. Being at that time one of the college of fifteen, and invested with the office of prætor, it fell to my province to regulate the ceremonies. Let it not be imagined that this is said from motives of vanity. The fact is, in ancient times the business was conducted under the special directions of the quindecemviral order, while the chief magistrates officiated in the several ceremonies. Claudius thought proper to revive this public spectacle. He attended in the circus, and, in his presence, the Trojan game (*b*) was performed by the youth of noble birth. Britannicus, the emperor's son, and Lucius Domitius, who by adoption took the name of Nero, and afterwards succeeded to the empire, appeared, with the rest of the band, mounted on superb horses. Nero was received with acclamations, and that mark of popular favour was considered as an omen of his future grandeur. A story, at that time current, gained credit with the populace. Nero in his infancy was said to have been guarded by two serpents (*c*); but this idle tale held too much of that

love of the marvellous which distinguishes foreign nations. The account given by the prince himself, who was ever unwilling to derogate from his own fame, differed from the common report. He talked of the prodigy, but graced his narrative with one serpent only.

XII. The prejudice in favour of Nero rose altogether from the esteem in which the memory of Germanicus was held by the people at large. The only male heir of that admired commander was naturally an object of attention; and the sufferings of his mother Agrippina touched every heart with compassion. Messalina, it was well known, pursued her with unrelenting malice: she was, even then, planning her ruin. Her suborned accusers soon framed a list of crimes; but the execution of her schemes was, for a time, suspended. A new amour, little short of phrensy, claimed precedence of all other passions. Caius Silius (*a*) was the person for whom she burned with all the vehemence of wild desire. The graces of his form and manner eclipsed all the Roman youth. That she

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might enjoy her favourite without a rival, she obliged him to repudiate his wife, Junia Silana, though descended from illustrious ancestors. Silius was neither blind to the magnitude of the crime, nor to the danger of not complying. If he refused, a woman scorned would be sure to gratify her revenge; and, on the other hand, there was a chance of deceiving the stupidity of Claudius. The rewards in view were bright and tempting. He resolved to stand the hazard of future consequences, and enjoy the present moment. Messalina gave a loose to love. She scorned to save appearances. She repeated her visits, not in a private manner, but with all her train. In public places she hung enamoured over him; she loaded him with wealth and honours; and at length, as if the imperial dignity had been already transferred to another house, the retinue of the prince, his slaves, his freedmen, and the whole splendour of the court, adorned the mansion of her favourite.

XIII. Claudius, in the mean time, blind to the conduct of his wife, and little

suspecting that his bed was dishonoured, gave all his time to the duties of his censorial office. He issued an edict to repress the licentiousness of the theatre. A dramatic performance had been given to the stage by Publius Pomponius (*a*), a man of consular rank. On that occasion the author, and several women of the first condition, were treated by the populace with insolence and vile scurrility. This behaviour called for the interposition of the prince. To check the rapacity of usurers, a law was also passed, prohibiting the loan of money to young heirs, on the contingency of their father's death. The waters, which have their source on the Simbruine hills (*b*), were conveyed in aqueducts to Rome. Claudius, at the same time, invented the form of new letters, and added them to the Roman alphabet, aware that the language of Greece, in its original state, could not boast of perfection, but received, at different periods, a variety of improvements.

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XIV. The Ægyptians were the first, who had the ingenuity to express by out-

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ward signs the ideas passing in the mind. Under the form of animals they gave a body and a figure to sentiment. Their hieroglyphics were wrought in stone, and are to be seen at this day, the most venerable monuments of human memory. The invention of letters (*a*) is also claimed by the Ægyptians. According to their account, the Phœnicians found legible characters in use throughout Ægypt, and, being much employed in navigation, carried them into Greece; importers of the art, but not intitled to the glory of the invention. The history of the matter, as related by the Phœnicians, is, that Cadmus, with a fleet from their country, passed into Greece, and taught the art of writing to a rude and barbarous people. We are told by others, that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, or Palamedes the Argive, who flourished during the Trojan war, invented sixteen letters (*b*): the honour of adding to the number, and making a complete alphabet, is ascribed to different authors, and, in particular, to Simonides. In Italy, Demaratus of Corinth, and Evander the Arcadian, introduced the arts of civiliza-

tion: the former taught the Etrurians, and the latter, the aborigines, or natives of the country where he settled. The form of the Latin letters was the same as the characters of the ancient Greeks: but the Roman alphabet, like that of all other nations, was scanty in the beginning. In process of time, the original elements were increased. Claudius added three new letters, which, during the remainder of his reign, were frequently inserted, but after his death fell into disuse. In tables of brass, on which were engraved the ordinances of the people, and which remain to this day, hung up in the temples, and the forum, the shape of the three characters may still be traced.

XV. To regulate the college of augurs was the next care of Claudius. He referred the business to the consideration of the senate, observing to that assembly, "That an ancient and venerable institu-" tion ought not to be suffered, for want of " due attention, to sink into oblivion. In " times of danger, the commonwealth resort-" ed to the soothsayers, and that order of

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" men restored the primitive ceremonies of " religion. By the nobility of Etruria the " science of future events was esteemed, and " cultivated. The authority of the senate " gave additional sanctions, and those my- " steries have ever since remained in certain " families, transmitted from father to son. " In the present decay of all liberal science, " and the growth of foreign superstition, the " sacred mysteries are neglected, and, in- " deed, almost extinguished. The empire, " it is true, enjoys a state of perfect tran- " quillity; but, surely, for that blessing, the " people should bend in adoration to the " gods, not forgetting, in the calm season " of peace, those religious rites, which " saved them in the hour of danger." A decree passed the senate, directing that the pontiffs should revise the whole system, and retrench or ratify what to them should seem proper.

XVI. In the course of this year, the Cheruscans applied to Rome for a king to reign over them. They had been distracted by civil dissensions, and in the wars that followed, the flower of their nobility was cut

off. Of royal descent there was only one surviving chief, by name Italicus, and he at that time resided at Rome. He was the son of Flavius, the brother of Arminius; by the maternal line, grandson to Catumer, the reigning king of the Cattians. He was comely in his person, expert in the use of arms, and skilled in horsemanship, as well after the Roman manner, as the practice of the Germans. Claudius supplied him with money; appointed guards to escort him; and, by seasonable admonitions, endeavoured to inspire him with sentiments worthy of the elevation to which he was called. He desired him to go forth with courage, and ascend the throne of his ancestors with becoming dignity. He told him, that being born at Rome, and there entertained in freedom, not kept as a prisoner, he was the first, who went clothed with the character of a Roman citizen, to reign in Germany. The prince was received by his countrymen with demonstrations of joy. A stranger to the dissensions, which had for some time disturbed the public tranquillity, he had no party views to warp his conduct. The king of a peo-

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ple, not of a faction, he gained the esteem of all. His praise resounded in every quarter. By exercising the milder qualities of temperance and affability, and, at times, giving himself up to wine and gay carousals, which among Barbarians are esteemed national virtues, he endeared himself to all ranks of men. His fame reached the neighbouring states, and by degrees spread all over Germany.

His popularity, however, gave umbrage to the disaffected. The same turbulent spirits, who had before thrown every thing into confusion, and flourished in the distractions of their country, began to view the new king with a jealous eye. They represented to the adjacent nations, that "the rights of Germany, transmitted to "them by their forefathers, were now at "the last gasp. The grandeur of the Ro-"man empire rises on the ruins of public "liberty. But is the Cheruscan nation at "so low an ebb, that a native, worthy of "the supreme authority, cannot be found "amongst them? Is there no resource left, "but that of electing the son of Flavius,

" that ignominious spy, that traitor to his " country? It is in vain alleged in favour " of Italicus, that he is nephew to Armi- " nius. Were he the son of that gallant " warrior, yet fostered, as he has been, in " the arms, and in the bosom of Rome, he " is, by that circumstance, unqualified to " reign in Germany. From a young man, " educated among our enemies, debased " by servitude, and infected with foreign " manners, foreign laws, and foreign senti- " ments, what have we to expect? And if " this Roman king, this Italicus, inherits " the spirit of his father; let it be remem- " bered, that Flavius took the field against " his kindred and the gods of Germany. " In the whole course of that war, no man " shewed a spirit so determined; no man " acted with such envenomed hostility " against the liberties of his country."

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XVII. By these, and such like incentives, the malecontents inflamed the minds of the people, and soon collected a numerous army. An equal number followed the standard of Italicus. "Their motives," they said, " were just and honourable: the young

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" king did not come to usurp the crown; " he was invited by the voice of a willing " people. His birth was illustrious, and it " was but fair, to make an experiment of " his virtues. He might, perhaps, prove " worthy of Arminius, his uncle, and of " Catumer, his grandfather. Even for his " father (*a*), the son had no reason to " blush. If Flavius adhered with fidelity " to the cause of Rome, he had bound " himself by the obligation of an oath; and " that oath was taken with the consent of " the German nations. The sacred name " of liberty was used in vain to varnish the " guilt of pretended patriots; a set of men, " in their private characters, void of ho- " nour; in their public conduct, destruct- " ive to the community; an unprincipled " and profligate party, who, by fair and " honest means having nothing to hope, " looked for their private advantage in the " disasters of their country." To this reasoning the multitude assented with shouts of applause. The Barbarians came to action. After an obstinate engagement, victory declared for Italicus. Elate with success, he broke out into acts of cruelty,

and was soon obliged to fly the country. The Langobards (*b*) reinstated him in his dominions. From that time, Italicus continued to struggle with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in success no less than adversity, the scourge of the Cheruscan nation.

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XVIII. The Chaucians (*a*), at this time free from domestic broils, began to turn their arms against their neighbours. The death of Sanquinius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, furnished them with an opportunity to invade the Roman provinces; and as Corbulo, who was appointed to succeed the deceased general, was still on his way, they resolved to strike their blow before his arrival. Gannascus, born among the Caninefates, headed the enterprise; a bold adventurer, who had formerly served among the auxiliaries in the Roman army. Having deserted afterwards, he provided himself with light-built shallops, and followed the life of a roving freebooter, infesting chiefly the Gallic side of the Rhine (*b*), where he knew the wealth and the unwarlike genius of the people. Corbulo entered the province. In his first

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campaign he laid the foundation of that prodigious fame, which afterwards raised his character to the highest eminence. He ordered the strongest galleys to fall down the Rhine, and the small craft, according to their size and fitness for the service, to enter the æstuaries and the recesses of the river. The boats and vessels of the enemy were sunk or otherwise destroyed. Gannascus was obliged to save himself by flight.

By these operations Corbulo restored tranquillity throughout the province. The re-establishment of military discipline was the next object of his attention. He found the legions relaxed in sloth, attentive to plunder, and active for no other end. In order to make a thorough reform, he gave out in orders, that no man should presume to quit his post, or venture to attack the enemy, on any pretence, without the command of his superior officer. The soldiers at the advanced stations, the sentinels, and the whole army, performed every duty, both day and night, completely armed. Two of the men, it is said, were put to

death, as an example to the rest; one, because he laboured at the trenches without his sword; and the other, for being armed with a dagger only; a severity, it must be acknowledged, strained too far, or, perhaps, not true in fact: but the rigid system, peculiar to Corbulo, might, with some colour of probability, give rise to the report. It may, however, be fairly inferred, that the commander, concerning whom a story like this could gain credit, was, in matters of moment, firm, decided, and inflexible.

XIX. By this plan of discipline, Corbulo struck a general terror through the army: but that terror had a twofold effect; it roused the Romans to a due sense of their duty, and repressed the ferocity of the Barbarians. The Frisians (*a*), who, ever since their success against Lucius Apronius, remained in open or disguised hostility, thought it advisable, after giving hostages for their pacific temper, to accept a territory within the limits prescribed by Corbulo, and to submit to a mode of government, which he judged proper, consisting

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of an assembly in the nature of a senate, a body of magistrates, and a new code of laws. In order to bridle this people effectually, he built a fort in the heart of their country, and left it strongly garrisoned. In the mean time, he tried, by his emissaries, to draw over to his interest the leading chiefs of the Chaucian nation. Against Gannascus he did not scruple to act by stratagem. In the case of a deserter, who had violated all good faith, fraud and circumvention did not appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman name. Gannascus was cut off. His death inflamed the resentment of the Chaucians; nor was Corbulo unwilling to provoke a war. His conduct, however, though applauded at Rome by a great number, did not escape the censure of others. "Why enrage the enemy? If he failed in his attempt, the commonwealth must feel the calamity: if crowned with success, a general of high renown, under a torpid and unwarlike prince, might prove a powerful and a dangerous citizen." Claudius had no ambition to extend his dominions in Ger-

many. He ordered the garrisons to be withdrawn, and the whole army to repass the Rhine.

XX. CORBULO had already marked out his camp in the enemy's country, when the emperor's letters came to hand. The contents were unexpected. A crowd of reflections occurred to the general: he dreaded the displeasure of the prince; he saw the legions exposed to the derision of the Barbarians, and in the opinion of the allies his own character degraded. He exclaimed with some emotion, "*Happy the commanders, who fought for the old republic!*" Without a word more, he sounded a retreat. And now, to hinder his men from falling again into sluggish inactivity, he ordered a canal, three-and-twenty miles in length, to be carried on between the Meuse and the Rhine, as a channel to receive the influx of the sea, and hinder the country from being laid under water. Claudius, in the mean time, allowed him the honour of triumphal ornaments: he granted the reward of military service, but prevented the merit of deserving it.

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In a short time afterwards, Curtius Rufus obtained the same distinction: the service of this man was the discovery of a mine in the country of the Mattiaci (*a*), in which was opened a vein of silver, of little profit, and soon exhausted. The labour was severely felt by the legions; they were obliged to dig a number of sluices, and in subterraneous cavities to endure fatigues and hardships, scarce supportable in the open air. Weary of the labour, and finding that the same rigorous services were extended to other provinces, they contrived, with secrecy, to dispatch letters to the emperor, praying, that, when next he appointed a general, he would begin with granting him triumphal honours.

XXI. Curtius Rufus (*a*), according to some, was the son of a gladiator. For this I do not pretend to vouch. To speak of him with malignity is far from my intention, and to relate the truth is painful. He began the world in the train of a quæstor, whom he attended into Africa. In that station, while, to avoid the intense heat of the mid-day sun, he was sitting under a

portico in the city of Adrumetum (*b*), the form of a woman, large beyond the proportions of the human shape (*c*), appeared before him. A voice, at the same time, pronounced, "You, Rufus, are the favoured "man, destined to come hereafter into this "province with proconsular authority." Inspired by the vision, he set out for Rome, where, by the interest of his friends, and his own intriguing genius, he first obtained the quæstorship. In a short time after, he aspired to the dignity of prætor; and, though opposed by competitors of distinguished rank, he succeeded by the suffrage of Tiberius. That emperor, to throw a veil over the mean extraction of his favourite candidate, shrewdly said, "*Curtius Rufus seems* "*to be a man sprung from himself.*" He lived to an advanced old age, growing grey in the base arts of servile adulation, to his superiors a fawning sycophant, to all beneath him proud and arrogant, and with his equals, surly, rude, and impracticable. At a late period of his life, he obtained the consular and triumphal ornaments, and finally, to verify the prediction, went

BOOK XI. proconsul into Africa, where he finished his days.

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XXII. About this time Cneius Novius, a man of equestrian rank, was seized in the circle at the emperor's court, with a dagger concealed under his robe; his motives were unknown at the time, and never since discovered. When he lay stretched on the rack, he avowed his own desperate purpose, but, touching his accomplices, not a syllable could be extorted from him. Whether his silence was wilful obstinacy, or proceeded from his having no secret to discover, remains uncertain. During the same consulship, Publius Dolabella proposed a new regulation, requiring that a public spectacle of gladiators should be exhibited annually, at the expence of such as obtained the office of quæstor. In the early ages of the commonwealth, that magistracy was considered as the reward of virtue. The honours of the state lay open to every citizen who relied on his fair endeavours, and the integrity of his character. The difference of age (*a*) created no incapacity.

Men, in the prime of life, might be chosen consuls and dictators. The office of quæstor was instituted during the monarchy, as appears from the law CURIATA (*b*), which was afterwards put in force by Lucius Junius Brutus. The right of election was vested in the consuls, till, at last, it centred in the people at large; and, accordingly, we find that about sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus were the first popular quæstors, created to attend the armies of the republic. The multiplicity of affairs increasing at Rome, two were added to act in a civil capacity. In process of time, when all Italy was reduced to subjection, and foreign provinces augmented the public revenue, the number of quæstors was doubled. Sylla created twenty: he had transferred all judicial authority to the senate; and to fill that order with its proper complement was the object of his policy. The Roman knights, it is true, recovered their ancient jurisdiction; but even during those convulsions, and from that æra to the time we are speaking of, the quæstorship was either obtained by the merit and dig-

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BOOK XI. nity of the candidates, or granted by the favour and free will of the people. It was A. U. C. 800. A. D. 47. reserved for Dolabella to make the election venal.

A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48. XXIII. Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipsanius were the next consuls. The mode of filling the vacancies in the senate became the subject of debate. The nobility of that part of Gaul styled Gallia Comata (*a*) had for some time enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens: on this occasion they claimed a right to the magistracy and all civil honours. The demand became the topic of public discussion, and in the prince's cabinet met with a strong opposition. It was there contended, "That Italy "was not so barren of men, but she could "well supply the capital with fit and able "senators. In former times, the municipal towns and provinces were content to "be governed by their own native citizens. "That system was long established, and "there was no reason to condemn the "practice of the old republic. The history "of that period presents a school of virtue. It is there that the models of true

" glory are to be found; those models that BOOK XI.
" formed the Roman genius, and still ex-
" cite the emulation of posterity. Is it not A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48.
" enough that the Venetians and Insubrians
" (*b*) have forced their way into the senate?
" Are we to see a deluge of foreigners
" poured in upon us, as if the city were
" taken by storm? What honours and what
" titles of distinction will, in that case, re-
" main for the ancient nobility, the true
" genuine stock of the Roman empire?
" And for the indigent senator of Latium
" what means will then be left to advance
" his fortune, and support his rank? All
" posts of honour will be the property of
" wealthy intruders; a race of men, whose
" ancestors waged war against the very
" being of the republic; with fire and sword
" destroyed her armies; and finally laid
" siege to Julius Cæsar in the city of Alesia
" (*c*). But these are modern instances:
" what shall be said of the Barbarians,
" who laid the walls of Rome in ashes, and
" dared to besiege the capitol and the tem-
" ple of Jupiter? Let the present claimants,
" if it must be so, enjoy the titular dignity
" of Roman citizens: but let the senatorian

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" rank, and the honours of the magistracy,
" be preserved, unmixed, untainted, and
" inviolate."

XXIV. These arguments made no impression on the mind of Claudius: he replied on the spot, and afterwards in the senate delivered himself to this effect (*a*):
" To decide the question now depending,
" the annals of Rome afford a precedent;
" and a precedent of greater cogency, as
" it happened to the ancestors of my own
" family. Attus Clausus, by birth a Sa-
" bine, from whom I derive my pedigree,
" was admitted, on one and the same day,
" to the freedom of Rome, and the patri-
" cian rank. Can I do better than adopt
" that rule of ancient wisdom? It is for
" the interest of the commonwealth, that
" merit, wherever found, should be trans-
" planted to Rome, and made our own.
" Need I observe that to Alba we are in-
" debted for the Julii, to Camerium for the
" Corruncani, and to Tusculum for the
" Portii? Without searching the records of
" antiquity, we know that the nobles of
" Etruria, of Lucania, and, in short, of

" all Italy, have been incorporated with " the Roman senate. The Alps, in the " course of time, were made the boundaries of the city: and by that extension " of our privileges, not simple individuals, " but whole nations were naturalized at " once, and blended with the Roman " name. In a period of profound peace, the " people beyond the Po were admitted to " their freedom. Under colour of planting colonies, we spread our legions over " the face of the globe; and, by drawing " into our civil union the flower of the several provinces, we recruited the strength " of the mother country. The Balbi came " from Spain, and others of equal eminence from the Narbon Gaul: of that " accession to our numbers have we reason to repent? The descendants of those " illustrious families are still in being: and " can Rome boast of better citizens? " Where do we see more generous ardour " to promote her interest?

" The Spartans and the Athenians, without all question, acquired great renown " in arms: to what shall we attribute their

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" decline and total ruin? To what, but
" the injudicious policy of considering the
" vanquished as aliens to their country?
" The conduct of Romulus, the founder
" of Rome, was the very reverse: with
" wisdom equal to his valour, he made
" those fellow citizens at night, who, in the
" morning, were his enemies in the field.
" Even foreign kings have reigned at Rome.
" To raise the descendants of freedmen to
" the honours of the state, is not, as some
" imagine, a modern innovation: it was
" the practice of the old republic. But
" the Senones waged war against us: and
" were the Volscians and the Æqui always
" our friends? The Gauls, we are told,
" well nigh overturned the capitol: and
" did not the Tuscans oblige us to deliver
" hostages? Did not the Samnites com-
" pel a Roman army to pass under the
" yoke (*b*)? Review the wars that Rome
" had upon her hands, and that with the
" Gauls will be found the shortest. From
" that time, a lasting and an honourable
" peace prevailed. Let them now, inter-
" mixed with the Roman people, united
" by ties of affinity, by arts, and conge-

"nial manners, be one people with us. "Let them bring their wealth to Rome, "rather than hoard it up for their own "separate use. The institutions of our "ancestors, which we so much and so "justly revere at present, were, at one "time, a novelty in the constitution. The "magistrates were, at first, patricians only; "the plebeians opened their way to ho-"nours; and the Latins, in a short time, "followed their example. In good time "we embraced all Italy. The measure "which I now defend by examples will, at "a future day, be another precedent. It "is now a new regulation: in time it will "be history."

XXV. This speech was followed by a decree, in consequence of which the Æduans, by way of distinction, were, in the first instance, declared capable of a seat in the senate. Of all the Gauls, they alone were styled the brethren of the Roman people, and by their strict fidelity deserved the honour conferred upon them. About the same time, Claudius enrolled in the patrician order such of the ancient

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senators as stood recommended by their illustrious birth, and the merit of their ancestors. The line of those families, which were styled by Romulus the FIRST CLASS OF NOBILITY, and by Brutus THE SECOND, was almost extinct. Even those of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæsar by the CASSIAN LAW, and, under Augustus, by the SENIAN (*a*), were well nigh exhausted. This new distribution of honours was agreeable to the people, and this part of his censorial office Claudius performed with alacrity. A more difficult business still remained. Some of the senators had brought dishonour on their names; and to expel them, according to the severity of ancient usage, was a painful task. He chose a milder method. "Let each man," he said, "review his "own life and manners; and, if he sees "reason, let him apply for leave to erase "his name. Permission will of course be "granted. The list which he intended to "make would contain, without distinction, "those who retired of their own motion, "and also such as deserved to be expelled. "By that method, the disgrace of being

" degraded would be avoided, or, at least, " alleviated." BOOK XI. A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48.

For these several acts, Vipsanius the consul moved that the emperor should be styled THE FATHER OF THE SENATE. The title, he said, of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY would be no more than common; but peculiar merit required a new distinction. This stroke of flattery gave disgust to Claudius. He therefore overruled the motion. He then closed the lustre of five years, and made a survey of the people. The number of citizens amounted nearly to six millions (*b*). From this time the emperor no longer remained in stupid insensibility, blind to the conduct of his wife. He was soon reduced to the necessity of hearing and punishing the enormity of her guilt: but the act by which he vindicated his own honour, gave him an opportunity to sully it by an incestuous marriage.

XXVI. MESSALINA had hitherto found so ready a compliance with her vicious passions, that the cheap delight was grown

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insipid. To give a zest to pleasure, she had recourse to modes of gratification untried before. Silius, at the same time, intoxicated with success, or, perhaps, thinking that the magnitude of his danger was to be encountered with equal courage, made a proposal altogether new and daring. "They were not," he said, "in a situation to wait, with patience, for the "death of the prince. Prudence and cautious measures were for the innocent only. "In cases of flagrant guilt, a bold effort of "courage was the only remedy. If they "undertook with spirit, their accomplices, "apprised of their situation, would be "ready to hazard all that was dear to them. "As to himself, he was divorced from his "wife; he was a single man; he had no "children; he was willing to marry Mes-"salina, and adopt Britannicus for his "son. After the nuptial ceremony, the "power which Messalina then enjoyed "would still continue in her hands, unim-"paired, and undiminished. To insure "their mutual safety, nothing remained "but to circumvent a superannuated em-"peror, when unprovoked, stupid; but

"when roused from his lethargy, sudden, "furious, and vindictive." The proposition was not relished by Messalina. Motives of conjugal affection had no influence on her conduct; but she beheld her lover with a jealous eye. Raised to imperial dignity, he might despise an adulteress, and their guilty joys. Their mutual pleasures, endeared at present by the magnitude of the crime and the danger, might, in the day of security, appear in their native colours, and pall the sated appetite. The marriage, notwithstanding, had charms that pleased her fancy. It was a further step in guilt and infamy; and infamy, when beyond all measure great, is the last incentive of an abandoned mind. She closed with the offer made by Silius, but deferred the carrying of it into execution, till the emperor went to Ostia to assist at a sacrifice. During his absence, the nuptial ceremony was performed with pomp, and all the accustomed rites.

XXVII. The fact which I have stated, it must be acknowledged, carries with it an air of fable. That such a degree of self-

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delusion, in a populous city where every thing is known and discussed in public, should infatuate the mind of any person whatever, will hardly gain credit with posterity. Much less will it be believed, that a consul elect, and the wife of an emperor, on a day appointed, in the presence of witnesses duly summoned, should dare to meet the public eye, and sign a contract with express provisions for the issue of an unlawful marriage. It will be a circumstance still more incredible, that the empress should hear the marriage ceremony pronounced by the augur, and, in her turn, repeat the words; that she should join in a sacrifice to the gods; take her place at the nuptial banquet; exchange caresses and mutual endearments with the bridegroom, and retire with him to the consummation of connubial joys. The whole must appear romantic; but to amuse with fiction is not the design of this work. The facts here related are well attested by writers of that period, and by grave and elderly men, who lived at the time, and were informed of every circumstance.

XXVIII. The prince's family was thrown into consternation. The favourites who stood high in power were alarmed for themselves. Full of apprehensions, and dreading a sudden change, they disclosed their minds, not in secret murmurs, but openly, and in terms of indignation. "While a "stage-player (*a*) enjoyed the embraces of "Messalina, the emperor's bed was dis-"honoured, but the state was not in dan-"ger. At present, what had they not to "fear from a young man of the first nobi-"lity, endowed with talents and with vi-"gour of mind, in his person graceful, and, "at that very time, designed for the con-"sulship? Silius was preparing to open a "new scene. The solemn farce of a mar-"riage has been performed, and the ca-"tastrophe, with which they intend to con-"clude the piece, may be easily foreseen." Their fears were still increased, when they considered the stupidity of Claudius, and the ascendant which the empress had obtained over him, to such a degree, that the best blood in Rome had been spilt to gratify her insatiate vengeance. On the other hand, the imbecility of Claudius gave them

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hopes of success. If they could once impress that torpid mind with an idea of Messalina's wickedness, she might be condemned unheard, and, by the sudden violence of the emperor, hurried away to execution. The only danger was, that she might gain an audience. Her defence might satisfy the emperor; and, even if she confessed her guilt, he might remain deaf to the truth, insensible of disgrace, weak, stupid, and uxorious.

XXIX. Callistus (*a*), who, as already mentioned, was a principal actor in the catastrophe of Caligula, held a meeting with Narcissus, the chief adviser of the murder of Appius, and with Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius. Their first idea was, to address themselves at once to Messalina, and, without alluding to her other enormous practices, endeavour to break the connection between her and Silius. This plan was soon deserted. The danger of provoking the haughty spirit of Messalina operated on the fears of Pallas. Callistus knew his own interest too well: a politician formed by the maxims of the pre-

ceding reign, he was not then to learn that power at court is preserved by tame compliance, not by honest counsels. Narcissus was left to act from his own judgment. To ruin Messalina was his fixed resolution; but the blow, he knew, must be struck before she could see the hand that aimed it. He laid his train with the deepest secrecy. Claudius continued loitering away the time at Ostia. Callistus employed the interval to the best advantage. He engaged in his plot two famous courtesans, at that time high in favour with the emperor. He allured them by presents and liberal promises. He convinced them both, that by the ruin of Messalina they might rise to power and influence. He represented their interest in the strongest colours, and, by those incentives, induced them to prefer an accusation against the empress.

XXX. The plot being settled, one of the concubines (by name Calpurnia) obtained a private interview with Claudius. Throwing herself at the emperor's feet, she told him that Messalina had dishonoured him by a marriage with Silius. Cleopatra,

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the other actress in the scene, was near at hand to confirm the story. Being asked by the accuser whether she did not know the truth of the charge, her testimony confirmed the whole. Narcissus was immediately summoned to the emperor's presence. He began with an humble apology for the remissness of his conduct. "He "had been silent as to Vectius and Plau- "tius, whose criminal intrigues were too "well known. Even in that very moment "it was not his intention to urge the crime "of adultery; nor would he desire restitu- "tion of the palace, the household train, "and the splendours of the imperial house. "Let Silius enjoy them all; but let him "restore the emperor's wife, and give up "his marriage contract to be declared null "and void. You are divorced, Cæsar, at "this moment divorced, and are you ig- "norant of it? The people saw the mar- "riage ceremony, the senate beheld it, "and the soldiers know it. Act with vi- "gour; take a decisive step, or the adul- "terer is master of Rome."

XXXI. Claudius called a council of

his friends. Turranius, the superintendant of the public stores, and Lusius Geta, the commander of the prætorian bands, acknowledged the whole of her flagitious conduct. The rest of the courtiers crowded round the prince, with importunity urging him to go forth to the camp, and secure the prætorian guards. His own personal safety was the first consideration. Vindictive measures might follow in good time. The alarm was too much for the faculties of so weak a man as Claudius. He stood in stupid amazement. He asked several times, Am I emperor? Is Silius still a private man?

Messalina, in the mean time, passed the hours in gay festivity, all on the wing of pleasure and enjoyment. It was then the latter end of autumn: in honour of the season, an interlude, representing the vintage, was exhibited by her order at the palace. The wine-presses were set to work; the juice pressed from the grape flowed in copious streams, and round the vats a band of women, dressed after the Bacchanalian fashion, with the skins of tigers, danced in

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frolic measures, with the wild transport usual at the rites of Bacchus. In the midst of the revellers Messalina displayed the graces of her person, her hair flowing with artful negligence, and a thyrsus waving in her hand. Silius fluttered at her side; his temples crowned with wreaths of ivy, his legs adorned with buskins, and his head, with languishing airs, moving in unison with the music, while a chorus circled round the happy pair, with dance, and song, and lascivious gesture animating the scene. There is a current tradition, that Vectius Valens in a fit of ecstasy climbed up among the branches of a tree, and being asked what he saw, made answer, "I see "*a dreadful storm* gathering at Ostia." Whether the sky was then overcast, or the expression fell by chance, it proved in the end a true prediction.

XXXII. Meanwhile, it became publicly known at Rome, not by vague report, but by sure intelligence brought by special messengers, that Claudius, fully apprised of all that passed, was on his way, determined to do justice on the guilty. Messalina with-

drew to the gardens of Lucullus. Silius, endeavouring under an air of gaiety to hide his fears, went towards the forum, as if he had business to transact. The rest of the party fled with precipitation. The centurions pursued them. Several were seized in the streets, or in their lurking-places, and loaded with fetters. In this reverse of fortune, Messalina had no time for deliberation. She resolved to meet the emperor on his way, and in a personal interview, to try that power over his affections which had so often served her on former occasions. In order to excite compassion, she ordered her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to fly to the embraces of their father. She prevailed on Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, to address the emperor as the sovereign pontiff, and wring from him, by the force of prayers, a pardon for his wife. She herself traversed the city on foot, with only three attendants. Such, in the moment of adversity, was the solitude in which she was left. She mounted into a tumbrel, usually employed to carry off the refuse of the city-gardens, and in that vehicle proceeded on her way to Ostia. From the spectators not

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a groan was heard; no sign of pity was seen. The enormity of her guilt suppressed every kind emotion of the heart.

XXXIII. CLAUDIUS, in the mean time, was thrown into violent agitations. Doubt and fear distracted him. He had no reliance on Geta, who commanded the prætorian guards; a man at all times fluctuating between good and evil, and ready for any mischief. Narcissus, seconded by his friends and associates, spoke his mind in terms plain and direct. He told the emperor that all was lost, if the command of the camp were not, for that day, vested in one of his freedmen. He offered himself for that important office; and lest Claudius on the road to Rome should be induced, by the influence of Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, to alter his resolution, he desired to be conveyed in the same carriage with the prince. He mounted the vehicle, and took his place without further ceremony.

XXXIV. CLAUDIUS, as he proceeded towards the city, felt himself distracted by

contending passions. He inveighed against his wife; he softened into tenderness, and felt for his children. During all that agitation of mind, Vitellius, we are told, contented himself with saying, "The vile iniquity! The infamous crime!" Narcissus pressed him to be more explicit; but his answers were in the oracular style, dark, ambiguous, and liable to be interpreted various ways. Cæcina followed his example. It was not long before Messalina appeared in sight. Her supplications were loud and vehement. "Hear your un-" happy wife," she said, "hear the mother " of Octavia and Britannicus." To prevent any impression of tenderness, the accuser raised his voice: he talked of Silius, and the wickedness of the marriage; he produced a memorial, containing a full account of the whole proceeding, and, to draw the emperor's eyes from Messalina, gave him the papers to read. As they entered Rome, Octavia and Britannicus presented themselves before the prince; but, by order of Narcissus, they were both removed. Vibidia claimed to be heard: in a pathetic tone she remonstrated, that to condemn his

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wife unheard, would be unjust, and shocking to humanity. She received for answer, that Messalina would have her opportunity to make her defence; in the mean time, it became a vestal virgin to retire to the functions of her sacred office.

XXXV. The silence of Claudius, during the whole of this scene, was beheld with astonishment. Vitellius looked aghast, affecting to understand nothing. All directions were given by the freedman. He ordered the adulterer's house to be thrown open, and proceeded thither with the emperor. He shewed him in the vestibule the statue of Silius the father, which the senate had ordered to be destroyed; he pointed to the splendid ornaments, formerly the property of the Neros and the Drusi, now in the possession of the adulterer; the reward of his profligacy. Claudius was fired with indignation. Before he had time to cool, and while, with violent menaces, he was denouncing vengeance, Narcissus took advantage of the moment, and conducted him to the camp. The soldiers were assembled in a body to receive him.

Claudius, by the advice of his ministers, delivered a short harangue. On the subject of his disgrace it was impossible to expatiate; shame suppressed his voice. The camp resounded with rage and clamour. The soldiers called aloud for the names of the guilty, threatening immediate vengeance. Silius was brought before the tribunal. He attempted no defence; he asked for no delay; instant death was all he desired. Several Roman knights followed his example, with equal firmness wishing to end their misery. In the number were Titius Proculus, whom Silius had appointed to guard Messalina; Vectius Valens, who confessed his guilt, and offered to give evidence against others; Pompeius Urbicus, and Saufellus Trogus: by the emperor's order they were hurried to instant execution. The same fate attended Decius Calpurnianus, præfect of the night-watch; Sulpicius Rufus, director of the public games; and Juncus Virgilianus, a member of the senate.

XXXVI. Mnester was the only person, in whose favour Claudius was held in

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suspense. This man, in agony, tore his garments, and "Behold," he said, "behold "a body seamed with stripes. Remember "your own words, Cæsar, the words, in "which you gave me strict directions to "obey the will and pleasure of Messalina. "The rest acted for their reward; they had "bright objects in view. If I have erred, "I erred through necessity, not by in- "clination. Had Silius seized the reins of "government, I should have been the first "victim to his fury." Claudius hesitated: touched with compassion, he was on the point of granting the wretch his pardon: but after executing so many persons of illustrious rank, his freedmen told him, that the life of a minstrel was of no value: whether the man offended from inclination, or compulsion, was not worth a moment's pause: his case deserved no favour. The defence made by Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, availed him nothing. In the prime of youth, of ingenuous manners, and an elegant figure, he had the misfortune to be distinguished by Messalina. She invited him to her bed, and, after one night, dismissed him from her service. Such was

the caprice that ruled all her passions: she loved with fury, and was soon disgusted. A pardon was granted to Suillius Cæsoninus and Plautius Lateranus: the last, in consideration of the great merit of his uncle (*a*), was saved from execution. Cæsoninus was protected by his vices. In that lewd society, with whom he had been lately connected, he had been obliged to suffer unnatural indignities; and that disgrace was deemed sufficient punishment.

XXXVII. Messalina remained, during this whole time, in the gardens of Lucullus. She still entertained hopes of prolonging her days. She began to write to the emperor in a style of supplication; her passions shifted, and she spoke the language of reproach: even in ruin, her pride was not abated. If Narcissus had not hastened the execution, there is no doubt but the blow, aimed at her, would have recoiled upon himself. Claudius, as soon as he returned to his palace, placed himself at his convivial table. Being refreshed, and in a short time warm with wine, he gave orders that a messenger should be

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sent to tell the unhappy woman (those were his words), that on the next day she should be admitted to make her defence. Narcissus took the alarm: he saw the resentments of his master ebbing fast away, and his former fondness flowing in upon him. Delay was big with danger. The night, then coming on apace, might produce a change of sentiment; and his very bed-chamber, the scene of all his happiness, might melt him into tenderness and conjugal affection. Filled with these apprehensions, the freedman rushed out of the banqueting-room, and, in the emperor's name, gave orders to the centurions, and the tribune on duty, to do immediate execution on Messalina. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was sent to superintend the execution. This man made the best of his way to the gardens. He found the empress stretched on the ground, and Lepida, her mother, sitting by her. While Messalina flourished in prosperity, the mother kept no terms with her daughter. In her present distress, she felt the regret and anguish of a parent. "Death," she told the unhappy criminal, "was her only refuge. To linger

"for the stroke of the executioner were "unworthy and ignoble. Life with her "was over: she was in the last act, and "nothing remained but to close the scene "with dignity and a becoming spirit." But in a mind, like that of Messalina, depraved by vicious passions, every virtue was extinguished. She sunk under her afflictions, overwhelmed with grief, dissolved in tears, and uttering vain complaints, when the garden-gate was thrown open. The tribune presented himself in sullen silence. Evodus, the freedman, discharged a torrent of opprobrious language, with all the malice of a servile spirit.

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XXXVIII. Messalina was now, for the first time, sensible of her condition. She saw that all was lost; she received a poniard; she aimed it with a feeble effort at her throat; she pointed it to her breast, irresolute, and clinging still to life. The tribune dispatched her at one blow. Her body was left to be disposed of by her mother. The emperor, in the mean time, had not risen from table. He was told that Messalina was no more; but whether she died by her own hand, or that of the exe-

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cutioner, was not mentioned, nor did it occur to him to ask the question. He called for wine, and pampered himself, as usual, with the luxuries of the table. On the following days he appeared unmoved, unaltered, without a symptom of anger, joy, or grief, or any one sensation of the human heart. Even amidst the exultations of Messalina's enemies, and the cries of her children, lamenting their unhappy mother, he remained sunk in stupid apathy. In order to blot her altogether from his memory, the senate decreed, that her name should be effaced in all places, whether public or private, and that her images should be every where taken down. The ensigns of the quæstorian dignity were voted to Narcissus; a slender recompense, when it is considered, that, though second in rank to Pallas and Callistus, he was the chief adviser in the whole proceeding against Messalina. The punishment inflicted, by his means, was undoubtedly just; but it proved the source of numberless crimes, and a long train of public calamity (*a*).

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

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These transactions passed in six years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
802	49	*Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.*
803	50	*Caius Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervillianus.*
804	51	*Claudius, 5th time, S. Cornelius Orphitus.*
805	52	*P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.*
806	53	*Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.*
807	54	*Marcus Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.*

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

I. THE death of Messalina threw the imperial family into a state of distraction. The freedmen were divided into contending factions. The emperor disliked a life of celibacy, and the uxorious disposition of his nature made him liable to be governed by the partner of his bed. Which of the favourites should make the fortune of a future empress was the point in dispute. Nor was female ambition less excited. Several candidates aspired to the vacant throne, all depending on pretensions, that gave to each a decided title; such as nobility of birth, superior beauty, immoderate riches, and, in short, every

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claim to that great elevation. The contest, however, lay between Lollia Paulina, the daughter of Marcus Lollius the consul, and Agrippina, the immediate issue of Germanicus. Pallas espoused the interest of Agrippina, and Lollia was supported by Callistus. There was still a third rival, namely Ælia Petina, descended from the family of the Tuberos. Narcissus declared in her favour. By the jarring counsels of the three favourites, Claudius was distracted in his choice; by turns inclined to each, persuaded always by the last, yet determined by none. At length, to weigh their different propositions, and the reasonings in support of them, he called his confidential ministers to an audience.

II. Narcissus urged in favour of Ælia Petina (*a*), that she was formerly the wife of Claudius, and by him was the mother of Antonia. By joining her again in the bands of wedlock, no alteration would be made in the imperial family. A person, with whom the prince had already experienced the tenderest union, would be reinstated; and, since Octavia and Britannicus were so

nearly allied to her daughter, she would embrace them both with sincere affection, free from the little jealousies of a step-mother. Callistus, on the contrary, was of opinion, that a woman, digraced by a long divorce, and suddenly restored to favour, would bring with her the pride and arrogance of an actual conquest: but to Lollia no objection could be made: she had never been a mother, and, by consequence, her affections, not already engaged, would be reserved for the issue of the prince. Her whole stock of tenderness would be engrossed by Octavia and Britannicus. Pallas contended for Agrippina: by a match with her, the grandson of Germanicus would be transplanted into the imperial family, and that union would be an accession of strength to the Claudian line. Agrippina was still in the prime of life, of a constitution that promised a numerous issue; and to suffer a woman of her rank and dignity to carry the splendour of the Cæsarean line into another family, would be a measure highly impolitic.

III. This reasoning weighed with Clau-

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dius, and the beauty of Agrippina added force to the argument. She had, besides, the art of displaying her charms to the best advantage. The ties of consanguinity gave her free access to her uncle. She made use of her opportunities, and, in a short time, secured her conquest. Without waiting for the marriage rites, she was able to anticipate the splendour and authority of imperial grandeur. Sure of her triumph over her rival, she enlarged her views, and by a projected match between Domitius (*a*), her son by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter, began to plan the elevation of her family. The scene before her flattered her ambition, but without a stroke of iniquity could not be realized. The fact was, Octavia, with the consent of Claudius, was contracted to Lucius Silanus, a youth of noble descent, by triumphal honours rendered still more illustrious, and by a spectacle of gladiators, given in his name, endeared to the people. But to a woman of high ambition and a politic character it was not difficult to mould to her purposes a man like Claudius, void of sentiment, without a passion, and

without a motive, except what was infused by the suggestion of others. BOOK XII. A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48.

IV. VITELLIUS saw the tide running with a rapid current in favour of Agrippina. He resolved to ingratiate himself without delay. His office of censor gave him the power of executing the vilest purposes, and, at the same time, served as a veil to hide his iniquity. He made advances to Agrippina, and entered into all her measures. His first step was to frame an accusation against Silanus, whose sister, Junia Calvina, in her person elegant, but of a loose and lascivious character, had been, not long before, the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. He accused them both of an incestuous commerce. The charge, in truth, was without foundation; but the folly of a brother and sister, who were so unguarded as to give to natural affection an air of criminality, afforded colour for the imputation. Claudius listened to the story. Inclined to protect his daughter, he was easily incensed against an intended husband, who had shewn himself capable of so foul a crime. Silanus was, at that

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time, prætor for the year. He little suspected the treacherous arts, by which his character and his fortune were undermined. By an unexpected edict, issued by Vitellius, he was expelled the senate, though that assembly had been lately reviewed and registered by the censor. Claudius declared the marriage contract void; he renounced all ties of affinity with Silanus, and obliged him to abdicate the prætorship, though but a single day remained to complete the year. For that short interval, Eprius Marcellus was appointed to fill the vacant office.

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V. In the consulship of Caius Pomponius Longinus and Quintus Veranius, the fond endearments, that passed between the emperor and his niece, left no room to doubt but their criminal loves, most probably indulged already, would soon be followed by the nuptial ceremony. But the marriage of an uncle with his brother's daughter, was, at that time, without a precedent. If they avowed an incestuous marriage, the popular hatred might be inflamed against them, and some public ca-

lamity might befal the city of Rome. Claudius was held in suspense. Vitellius undertook to remove every scruple. He desired to know whether the emperor would make the sense of the people, and the authority of the senate, the rule of his conduct. Claudius replied, that he was one of the people, an individual too weak to resist the public voice. Vitellius desired that he would remain in his palace, and went directly to the senate. He began with assuring the fathers that he came on business of the first importance, and, having obtained leave to speak out of his turn, he proceeded as follows: "The office of supreme magistrate is at best a state of painful solicitude. The cares of a prince, who superintends the government of the world, requires domestic comfort to sweeten anxiety, and leave him at leisure to think for the good of the whole. And where can he find a comfort so fit, so honourable, so consistent with his dignity, as in the arms of a wife, his partner in prosperity, and in affliction the balm of all his cares? With a faithful associate, he may unload his inmost thoughts; to her

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" he may commit the management of his
" children; and, in that tender union, un-
" seduced by pleasure, undebauched by
" riot and luxury, he may continue to shew
" that reverence for the laws, which di-
" stinguished the character of Claudius
" from his earliest youth."

VI. After this artful introduction, finding that he was heard by the fathers with manifest symptoms of a complying spirit, he resumed his discourse. " Since it seems
" to be the prevailing opinion, that, to
" alleviate the cares of the emperor, an
" imperial consort is absolutely necessary,
" nothing remains but to recommend the
" choice of a person, distinguished by her
" illustrious birth, a fruitful womb, and the
" purity of her morals. This point may
" be soon decided. Agrippina must, of
" course, present herself to every mind.
" Descended from a noble stock, she is
" the mother of children, and possesses,
" besides, all the virtues and all the graces
" of her sex. Nor is this all: by the special
" care of the gods, a prince, who has known
" no lawless pleasures, who has sought the
" modest enjoyments of connubial love, has

" now an opportunity of taking a widow " to his arms, without injury to any private " citizen, and without violating the rights " of the marriage bed. By former em- " perors wives have been taken from the " embraces of their husbands: we have " heard it from our fathers; we have " been eye-witnesses of the fact. But " these acts of violence are now at an end. " A precedent may be established to regu- " late the conduct of all future emperors. " But it may be said, a marriage between " the uncle and his niece is unknown to " Roman manners. To this the answer is " obvious: it is the practice of foreign " nations, and no law forbids it. By the " rule of ancient times, cousin-germans " were restrained from marrying; but the " change of manners has introduced a dif- " ferent custom. Such marriages are now " grown familiar. Public convenience is " the parent of all civil institutions: the " marriage, which to-day seems an innova- " tion, in future times will be the general " practice."

VII. This speech was received with the

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general assent. Many of the fathers rushed out of the house, declaring aloud, that if the emperor hesitated, they knew how to enforce compliance. The populace at the door echoed back the voice of the senate, and, with violent uproar, called it the wish of the people. Claudius delayed no longer: he shewed himself in the forum, amidst shouts and acclamations. He proceeded to the senate, and there desired that a decree might pass, declaring marriages between the uncle and his niece legal for the future. The law was enacted, but little relished. Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, was the only person willing to embrace such an alliance. He married his niece, but, as was generally believed, with a design to pay his court to Agrippina. From this time a new scene of affairs was opened. The government of a woman prevailed; but it was no longer a woman of loose and dissolute manners like Messalina, who meant to mock the people with a reign of lewdness and debauchery. Agrippina established a despotic system, and maintained it with the vigour of a manly spirit: in her public conduct rigorous, and often

arrogant, she suffered no irregularity in her domestic management. Vice, when subservient to her schemes of ambition, might be the means, but never was her ruling passion. Her avarice knew no bounds: but the support of government was her pretext.

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VIII. On the day of the nuptial ceremony Silanus put an end to his life. Till that time he had nourished delusive hopes; or, it might be his intention to mark the day by a deed of horror. His sister Calvina was banished out of Italy. Claudius, to atone for her offence, revived the ancient law of Tullus, the Roman king, and ordered a sacrifice and expiations by the pontiffs to be made in the grove of Diana. This provoked the public ridicule. It was observed that the time for inflicting penalties, and performing solemn rites, was chosen with notable judgment, when adultery was by law established. Agrippina was not willing to be distinguished by evil deeds alone: in order to grace her character, she interceded for Annæus Seneca, who had been driven into banishment; and not only restored him to his coun-

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try, but obtained for him the prætorian rank. The learning and brilliant genius of that philosopher, she had no doubt, would render the measure acceptable to the people; and, from the education of her son Domitius under such a master, she promised herself great advantages. She had still a deeper scheme in view: by the wisdom and advice of Seneca, she hoped to make the road to empire smooth and level for her son. Motives of gratitude would have their influence on the mind of that eminent man, and fix him in her interest, a faithful counsellor, and her friend by sentiment; while a sense of former injuries would make him the secret enemy of Claudius.

IX. Having conceived this plan of ambition, she thought her measures could not be too soon concerted. She contrived, by large and generous promises, to gain over to her purposes Memmius Pollio, at that time consul elect. He moved in the senate an address to the emperor, requesting his consent to a contract of marriage between Domitius and

Octavia. The match was suited to the age of the parties. Agrippina intended it as a prelude to greater scenes, not yet disclosed. The speech of Pollio to the fathers was little more than a repetition of what had been urged by Vitellius. The motion succeeded. Octavia was promised to Domitius, and, by this additional tie, the young prince was raised to higher splendour. He was now considered as the son-in-law of the emperor. Supported by the intrigues of his mother, and not less by the enemies of Messalina, who dreaded the vengeance of her son, he began to vie with Britannicus, and even to dispute with him the point of precedence.

X. The deputies from Parthia sent, as has been related, to demand Meherdates for their king, were admitted to an audience before the senate. They opened their commission in the following manner: "The alliance between Rome and Parthia, "and the subsisting treaties, are fully "known to us; nor is it a spirit of disaf- "fection to the family of the Arsacides "that brings us to this assembly. We

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" seek the son of Vonones, the grandson
" of Phraates. In the present crisis, he is
" our only refuge, our shield and best pro-
" tection from the tyranny of Gotarzes,
" who is justly execrated by the whole
" Parthian nation. His reign is marked
" with blood. His brothers were the first
" victims to his fury. His kindred have
" been since cut off. No place is safe
" from devastation: neither age nor sex is
" spared; parents and their children perish
" in one general massacre, and infants yet
" unborn are butchered in the mother's
" womb. Such are the exploits of Go-
" tarzes; in peace a tyrant, and in war
" disastrous to his country. Cruelty, he
" hopes, will seem in the eyes of men a
" warlike spirit. The treaties subsisting
" between Rome and Parthia are of an-
" cient date: they have been the basis of
" a lasting friendship; and to prove that
" friendship sincere, the fathers have now
" a fair opportunity. It is theirs to vindi-
" cate the rights of a nation, which, though
" not inferior in point of strength and
" numbers, yields to Rome from motives
" of respect. For this reason the sons of

"Parthian kings have been delivered up "as hostages. The principle of that ac- "quiescence is, that if domestic tyranny "should prove a galling yoke, the people "may have recourse to the emperor and "the senate. They now claim, at your "hands, a king trained up in Roman "manners, and, by consequence, likely "to bring with him to his native country "the best notions of civil government."

XI. Claudius answered the ambassadors in a style of magnificence. He set forth the grandeur of the Roman name, and the deference due from the Parthian nation. He placed himself on a level with Augustus, who, in like manner, had received the applications of a whole people; but he made no mention of Tiberius (*a*), though that emperor had dealt out sceptres, and placed foreign kings on the throne of Parthia. After this brilliant harangue, he turned to Meherdates, then present in the senate, and in a serious strain admonished him to remember that he was going forth, not the lord of slaves, but the governor of men; not the tyrant,

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but the chief magistrate of his fellow citizens. He advised him to practise the virtues of justice and moderation; virtues, he said, unknown to savage life, but for that reason more likely to charm by their novelty. From the prince he turned to the Parthian ambassadors, and, in handsome terms, commended to their care the pupil of Rome; a young prince of ingenuous manners, and no stranger to the liberal arts. He added, that the Parthians would do well to temporise with the genius of their kings, and to overlook the failings of human nature. Frequent revolutions could give no solid advantage. Rome was at the highest point of grandeur. Enough of glory had been gained by the progress of her arms; she therefore put a period to her victories, and the tranquillity of foreign nations was now the object of her care. Meherdates was committed to the Parthian deputies; and Caius Cassius, the governor of Syria, had it in command to conduct him to the banks of the Euphrates.

XII. Cassius, at that period, was the

most eminent man of the age for his profound knowledge of the laws. In times of peace, the military science falls into neglect. Between the warlike genius and the inactive sluggard no distinction remains. And yet the ardent mind of Cassius could not languish in a state of stupid indolence. Though there was no war upon his hands to rouse the spirit of the legions, he resolved, by every method in his power, to maintain the rigour of ancient discipline. He kept the soldiers in constant exercise; he established new regulations, and practised every duty with as much zeal as if the enemy were actually in arms against him. This severity, he thought, became a man who had before his eyes the bright example of his ancestors, and, above all, the fame of the celebrated Cassius, which was diffused through all the eastern nations. Having pitched his camp near Zeugma, a city where the passage over the Euphrates is most practicable, he waited for a convention of the Parthian chiefs, who had made their application to Rome. As soon as they arrived, and with them Abgarus, king of the

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Arabs (*a*), he delivered Meherdates into their hands, having previously reminded the prince, that among Barbarians the first impulse of their zeal is violent, but apt to relax, and end in treachery. His interest, therefore, called for vigorous measures. By the artifice of Abgarus that advice was rendered abortive. The prince, as yet without experience, suspecting no deceit, and weak enough to think that royalty consists in luxury and riot, was seduced to the city of Edessa, and there detained several days, the dupe of the wily Arabian. Carrhenes, in the mean time, pressed Meherdates to advance with expedition. By his messengers he promised certain success, if no time was lost in frivolous delay. All was ineffectual. Though Mesopotamia was at hand, they never entered that country, but, taking a wider circuit, marched towards Armenia, where the rigour of the winter was already begun.

XIII. After a toilsome march over craggy mountains covered with a waste of snow, they descended at last into the open country. Carrhenes joined them at the

head of his forces. Thus reinforced, the army passed over the Tigris, and penetrated into the country of the Adiabenians (*a*). Izates, king of that people, in outward shew favoured Meherdates, but in his heart inclined to Gotarzes. In the course of their march, they made themselves masters of the city of Ninos (*b*), formerly the seat of the Assyrian monarchy. They also took the castle of ARBELA, memorable in story for the last battle between Darius and Alexander, by which the fate of the Persian monarchy was decided. Gotarzes, in the mean time, took post on the heights of mount SAMBULOS (*c*). He there offered up a sacrifice to the deities of the place, and chiefly to Hercules, the leading god. At stated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inspired the dreams of the priests, and, in a vision, gave his orders, "That a set of horses, ready for "the chase, should be stationed near the "temple. The hunters, accordingly, are "drawn out, well equipped with quivers "and a store of arrows." Thus caparisoned, they stretch at full speed through the woods, and, at the close of day, return to

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the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made, and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods.

XIV. GOTARZES had not as yet assembled all his forces, and the issue of a battle was what he wished to avoid. The river Corma served to cover him from the assaults of the enemy. He there stood at bay, devising various delays, encamping, and shifting his ground; and though provoked by various insults, and even by messengers challenged to the conflict, he contrived, notwithstanding, to protract the war, while his agents were busy in the adverse camp, by gifts and promises, seducing the friends of Meherdates. Izates, king of the Adiabenians, was the first to withdraw with all his forces. Abgarus, the Arabian, followed his example, both displaying the fickle disposition and the venality of Barbarians. To sue for kings at the hands of

Rome was their frequent custom; but experience shews that they petitioned only to betray. Weakened by desertion, and suspecting further treachery, Meherdates resolved to try the issue of a battle. Nor was Gotarzes disposed to decline the conflict. A fierce engagement followed, with great slaughter on both sides. The victory was long held in suspense, till Carrhenes, having broke the enemy's lines, pursued his advantage with too much ardour. He was attacked in the rear by a body of reserve, and hemmed in on every side. Meherdates saw nothing but impending ruin. In his distress he trusted to the advice of Parrhaces, one of his father's freedmen. By that traitor he was thrown into fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes behaved with the pride and insolence of victory. He reviled his captive as a stranger to the blood of the Arsacides, a man of foreign extraction, and a slave to Rome. He ordered his ears to be cut off, and left him, in that condition, a wretched proof of Parthian clemency, and a living disgrace to the Romans. Gotarzes was soon after carried off by a fit of illness. Vonones,

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at that time governor of Media, mounted the vacant throne. Of this prince, either in his distresses or his prosperity, nothing remains worthy of a place in history. After a short and inglorious reign, he left the Parthian diadem to his son Vologeses.

XV. DURING these transactions, a new alarm was raised by Mithridates (*a*), king of Bosphorus, who had been lately driven out of his dominions. He continued, ever since his expulsion, wandering from place to place, forlorn and helpless. He learned, at length, that Didius, the Roman general, retired with the flower of his army, leaving the kingdom of Thrace in the hands of Cotys, a prince without experience, scarcely settled on the throne, and depending on the slender support of a few cohorts, under the command of Julius Aquila, a Roman knight. The news inspired Mithridates with sudden courage. He roused the neighbouring nations, drew together a body of deserters, and, putting himself at the head of his tumultuary levies, fell with impetuous fury on the king of the Dandarides (*b*), and made himself master of his dominions.

The invasion of Bosphorus was expected to be his next attempt. Cotys and Aquila did not think themselves in force to resist the attack; and Zorsines, king of the Siracians (*c*), commencing hostilities in that critical juncture, added greatly to their fears. In this distress, they looked round to the neighbouring states for assistance, and by their ambassadors invited Eunones, king of the Adorsians, to join the Roman arms. In a war between a powerful nation and a ruined dismantled king, it was not difficult to form a new confederacy. The plan of their operations was soon settled. Eunones was to ravage the open country with his cavalry. The Romans undertook to lay siege to the towns and places of strength.

XVI. The combined forces took the field. On their march the Adorsians (*a*) led the van, and also brought up the rear. The centre consisted of the cohorts and the succours collected in Bosphorus, armed after the Roman manner. The enemy not daring to look them in the face, they marched, without opposition, to the town of Soza (*b*),

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in the country of the Dardanides. Finding the place abandoned by Mithridates, they took possession, and, to guard against the treachery of the inhabitants, left it strongly garrisoned. They penetrated next into the country of the Siracians, and, having crossed the river Panda (*c*), invested the city of USPES, situated on an eminence, and defended by walls and a fosse. The walls, indeed, not being constructed with stone, but with earth thrown up and bound with hurdles, could not long resist the operations of a siege. Towers of considerable height were advanced against the works, and from that elevation darts and flaming brands were thrown into the town with such incessant fury, that, if the approach of night had not prevented a general assault, the siege had been begun and ended in a single day.

XVII. THE besieged, next morning, sent a deputation with offers of an immediate surrender, and no less than ten thousand slaves, on condition that the free-born should remain unhurt. The terms were rejected. After a capitulation, to put the

inhabitants to the sword would be an act of inhumanity, and a violation of all the laws of war. On the other hand, to bridle such a number, an adequate force could not be spared from a scanty army. The besiegers, therefore, returned for answer, that every thing must be left to the decision of the sword. The soldiers scaled the walls, and the signal was given for a general slaughter. The city was levelled to the ground. The adjacent nations saw that neither arms, nor lines of circumvallation, nor places almost inaccessible, defended by nature and by rapid rivers, could withstand the vigour of the Roman arms. In this general consternation, Zorsines, the Siracian king, began to waver. He now considered whether it were best to adhere to Mithridates, or to provide in time for the security of his own dominions. Self-interest prevailed. He gave hostages, and humbled himself before the image of Claudius. Nothing could be more honourable to the Roman army. Victorious without the loss of blood, they traversed a vast tract of country, and were within three days of the Tanais (*a*). Their return was not so pro-

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sperous. They went back by sea, and some of the ships were thrown by adverse winds on the coast of Taurus (*b*). The Barbarians poured down to the shore, and with savage fury murdered a considerable number, with the præfect of a cohort, and most of the centurions.

XVIII. Meanwhile Mithridates, undone and hopeless, began to consider where he might implore compassion. His brother Cotys had at first betrayed him, and then became an open enemy: on him no reliance could be had. If he surrendered to the Romans, there was not in the territory of Bosphorus any one officer of weight and authority to ensure the performance of his promises. In this distress, the unhappy monarch turned his thoughts to Eunones. That prince had no motive for personal animosity, and his late alliance with Rome gave him no small degree of influence. Mithridates resolved to apply at that court. With a dejected mien, and a garb that spoke his wretchedness, he entered the palace, and falling prostrate at the feet of the king, "Behold," he said, "behold the

" man, who for years has grappled with the " whole power of Rome. Mithridates hum- " bles himself before you; the persecuted " Mithridates, whom the Romans have " pursued by sea and land. My fate is in " your hands; use your discretion: treat, " as you shall think best, a prince descend- " ed from the great Achæmenes (*a*). The " honour of that high lineage is all my " enemies have left me."

XIX. The appearance of a man so distinguished, the turns of fortune that attended him, and, even in ruin, the affliction that softened, but could not subdue his spirit, touched Eunones with generous sympathy. He raised the royal suppliant from the ground. He praised the magnanimity with which he threw himself into the power of the Adorsian nation, and, with pleasure, undertook to be mediator between Rome and the unfortunate monarch. He dispatched messengers to Claudius with letters to the following effect: " In all " treaties between the Roman people and " foreign nations, similitude of fortune was

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" the basis of their alliance. The present " union between Claudius and the Adorsi- " ans was founded on a participation of " victory; and victory is then most honour- " able when mercy spares the vanquished. " Of this truth Zorsines is a recent instance. " He still retains his former possessions. " But equal terms could not be expected " in the case of Mithridates. His offence " was of a more grievous nature. To re- " store him to his throne and kingdom is " not the object of this application. Spare " his life, and let him not walk in fetters, " a public spectacle to grace the victor's " triumph."

XX. Claudius was, at all times, disposed to act with moderation towards the nobility of foreign nations. In the present conjuncture, he doubted which were most expedient, to receive the royal prisoner under a promise of pardon, or to take him by force of arms. Resentment and the love of revenge were strong incentives; but still there were reasons of policy in the opposite scale. " A war must be com-

"menced in a distant region, where the "roads were difficult, and the sea had "neither harbours nor stations for ship- "ping; where the struggle would be with "fierce and warlike kings, and a people "by their wandering life inured to fatigue; "where the soil was unproductive, and an "army, of course, would be distressed for "provisions. Campaigns drawn out into "length would dispirit the soldiers; sud- "den operations might be attended with "hazard; from victory no glory could re- "dound to the Roman name, and to be "defeated were indelible disgrace." For these reasons, it was judged advisable to accept the proffered terms. Mithridates, in that case, would remain a wandering exile, poor, distressed, and wretched. To protract his days were to protract his misery. Claudius returned an answer to Eunones: "Mithridates," he observed, "had merited the utmost rigour, and the "vengeance of Rome was able to reach "him. But to subdue the proud, and "spare the suppliant, had ever been a Ro- "man virtue. It was by curbing the pride "of kings, and by conquering an entire

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"people, that Rome acquired renown in "arms. Then, and then only, she had rea- "son to triumph."

XXI. In consequence of these dispatches, Mithridates was delivered up to Julius Cilo, at that time imperial procurator of Pontus. He brought with him to Rome a mind unbroken by his misfortunes. In his language to Claudius he towered above his helpless condition. One sentence that fell from him was celebrated at the time. "In me you see a man, not taken prisoner, "but willing to surrender: I came of my "own accord; if you doubt the fact, set "me at liberty, and retake me if you are "able." He was conducted under a guard to the rostrum, and there presented as a spectacle to the people. He stood unmoved, with his natural ferocity pictured in his countenance. Cilo and Aquila were rewarded for their services; the former with consular ornaments, and the latter with the ensigns of prætorian dignity.

XXII. During the same consulship, the hatred of Agrippina, deep and im-

placable, broke out with gathered rage against Lollia, who had been guilty of the crime of contending for the imperial bed. An accusation was soon contrived, and a prosecutor suborned. The substance of the charge was, "That in the late contest for "the emperor's choice, Lollia held consult- "ations with Chaldæan seers; that she "employed magicians, and sent to consult "the Clarian Apollo." She was condemned unheard. Claudius addressed the senate on the occasion. He mentioned the nobility of her birth; by the maternal line she was niece to Lucius Volusius, grand niece to Cotta Messalinus, and formerly the wife of Memmius Regulus. He said nothing of her marriage with Caligula (*a*). Having made that flourishing preface, he changed his tone, imputing to her dark designs against the state. To defeat her pernicious views, nothing remained but to confiscate her estates, and banish her out of Italy. The senate complied. Out of her immoderate wealth she was allowed to retain no more than five millions of sesterces. Calpurnia, another woman of high rank, was obnoxious to the resentments of

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Agrippina. It happened that Claudius, in accidental discourse, without a wish to enjoy her person, praised the elegance of her figure. This gave jealousy to the empress. She considered, however, that the mere crime of beauty did not deserve to be punished with death. She sent a tribune to Lollia, with orders to make her put an end to her days. Cadius Rufus, at the same time, was found guilty of extortion at the suit of the Bithynians.

XXIII. As a mark of favour to the province of Narbon Gaul, and to reward the veneration in which the authority of the senate had ever been held by the people of that country, it was settled by a decree, that such of the natives as were Roman senators should be at liberty, without a special licence from the emperor, to visit their estates in their native province, with as full and ample privileges as had been granted to the Sicilian senators. Sohemus and Agrippa, kings of Ituria (*a*) and Judæa, being both dead, their respective territories were annexed to the province of Syria. An order was also made, that the auguries, relating

to the public safety, which had lain dormant for five-and-twenty years, should be revived, and never again be suffered to fall into disuse. The limits (*b*) of the city were enlarged by Claudius. The right of directing that business was, by ancient usage, vested in all such as extended the boundaries of the empire. The right, however, had not been exercised by any of the Roman commanders (Sylla and Augustus excepted), though remote and powerful nations had been subdued by their victorious arms.

XXIV. What was done in early times by the ambition or the public virtue of the Roman kings, cannot now be seen through the mist that hangs over distant ages. It may, however, be matter of some curiosity to mark out the foundation of the city, and the boundaries assigned by Romulus. The first outline began at the ox-market, where still is to be seen the brazen statue of a bull, that animal being commonly employed at the plough. From that place a furrow was carried on of sufficient dimensions to include the great altar of Hercules,

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By boundary-stones, fixed at proper distances, the circuit was continued along the foot of mount Palatine to the altar of CONSUS, extending thence to the old CURIÆ, next to the chapel of the LARES, and finally to the great Roman forum. The capitol, it is generally thought, was added, not by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius. From that period the city grew with the growth of the empire. With regard to the enlargement made by Claudius, the curious may be easily satisfied, as the public records contain an exact description.

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XXV. IN the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Suillius, the adoption of Domitius was hurried on by the credit and influence of Pallas. Connected with Agrippina, whom he had raised to imperial splendour, by ties of mutual interest, and still more so by the indulgence of criminal passions, this favourite advised his master to provide for the public safety, and, in aid to the tender years of Britannicus, to raise collateral branches in the Cæsarean line. For this measure Augustus had left a precedent. That emperor adopted the issue of his wife,

though he had, in that very juncture, grand children to represent him. Tiberius copied the example, and to his own immediate offspring united Germanicus. It would therefore become the wisdom of Claudius to embrace, as his own, a young man who would in time be able to relieve the sovereign, and lighten the cares of government. Convinced by this reasoning, Claudius gave the precedence to Domitius, though but two years older than his own son. On this subject he made a speech to the senate, content to be the organ of what his freedman had suggested. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that this was the first adoption into the Claudian family; an old patrician line, which, from the days of Atta Clausus (*a*), had continued, without any mixture of foreign blood, in one regular course of descent.

XXVI. The senate passed a vote of thanks to the emperor; but in a style of exquisite flattery their court was chiefly paid to Domitius. A law was also enacted, by virtue of which the young prince, under

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the name of Nero, was naturalized into the Claudian family. Agrippina was dignified with the title of AUGUSTA. During these transactions, there was not a man so void of sentiment, as not to behold the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. His very slaves were taken from him. His step-mother interposed with officious civility. The young prince laughed at her kindness, aware of the underplot, which she was carrying on against him. Want of discernment was not among his faults. It has been said that he was by nature penetrating: that, perhaps, was his true character; or, it may be, that men were willing to give him credit for talents, without waiting to make the experiment.

XXVII. AGRIPPINA had now the ambition to display her weight and influence to the eyes of foreign nations. To this end she caused a body of veterans to be sent to the capital city of the Ubians, the place of her nativity, to be established there as a colony, called after her own name (*a*). When that people first passed over the Rhine, it happened that Agrippa, her

grandfather, was the Roman general, who received them as the allies of Rome. In the present juncture, when the new colony was to be settled, a sudden alarm broke out in the Upper Germany, occasioned by an irruption of the Cattians (*b*), who issued forth from their hive in quest of plunder. To check their progress, Lucius Pomponius dispatched a body of auxiliary troops, composed of the Vangiones (*c*) and Nemetæans, with a squadron of light horse, to make a forced march, and, if they could not attack the front line of the Barbarians, to fall upon the rear. The ardour of the soldiers was not inferior to the skill of the general. They formed two divisions: one marched to the left, and came up with the freebooters, who had been committing depredations, and lay sunk in sleep and wine. The victory was cheap, but enhanced by the joy with which the conquering soldiers released, at the end of forty years, some of the prisoners who were taken in the massacre of Varus and his legions.

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XXVIII. The second division, which had marched to the right, and by a shorter

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road, met with greater success. The Barbarians ventured to give battle, and were defeated with prodigious slaughter. Elate with success, and loaded with spoils, the conquerors marched back to mount Taunus (*a*), where Pomponius, at the head of his legions, lay in wait, expecting that the Cattians, prompted by a spirit of revenge, would return to the charge. But the Barbarians, dreading the Romans on one side, and on the other, their constant enemies, the Cheruscans, sent a deputation to Rome, with hostages to secure a pacification. Triumphal honours were decreed to Pomponius; but military fame is the least part of the estimation in which he is held by posterity. He excelled in elegant composition, and the character of the general is now eclipsed by the genius of the poet.

XXIX. VANNIUS (*a*), who had been formerly raised by Drusus to reign over the Suevians, was, about this time, driven from his kingdom. His reign, at first, was mild and popular; but the habit of commanding had corrupted his nature. Pride and arrogance had taken root in his heart. Do-

mestic factions conspired against him, and the neighbouring nations declared open hostility. Vibillius, king of the Hermundurians, conducted the enterprise. He was joined by Vangio and Sido, the nephews of Vannius by a sister. In this quarrel Claudius was determined not to interfere. Though often pressed to take a decided part, he observed a strict neutrality, content with promising the Suevian king a safe retreat from the rage of his enemies. In his dispatches to Publius Atellius Hister, who had the command in Pannonia, his orders were, that the legion and the troops of the province should be held in readiness on the banks of the Danube, to succour the vanquished, and repel the incursions of the Barbarians, if they attempted to invade the frontier. A powerful confederacy was then actually formed by the nations of Germany. The Ligians (*b*), and other states, were up in arms, attracted by the fame of an opulent kingdom, which Vannius, during a space of thirty years, had made still richer by plunder and depredations. To make head against the forces combined against him was not in the power

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of the Suevian king. The natural strength of his kingdom consisted of infantry only: the Iazigians (*c*), a people of Sarmatia, supplied him with a body of horse. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Vannius felt his inferiority. He resolved to keep within the strong holds and fastnesses of the country, and draw the war into a lingering length.

XXX. The Iazigians were not of a temper to endure the slow operations of a siege. They spread themselves, in their desultory manner, round the country, and by their rashness brought on a general engagement. The Ligians and Hermundurians fell in with their roving parties. Vannius was obliged to sally out to the assistance of his friends. He gave battle, and was totally overthrown. But the praise of valour could not be withheld from him. Covered with honourable wounds, he escaped to his fleet, which lay in the Danube. His partisans followed him, and, with a proper allotment of lands, were settled in Pannonia. The dominions of the deposed king were divided between his two nephews

Vangio and Sido, both, from that time, distinguished by their fidelity to Rome. In the beginning of their reign, they flourished in the affections of the people; honoured by all, while they struggled for power; when they obtained it, despised and hated. Their own misconduct was, perhaps, the cause; perhaps, the fickle temper of the people; or, it may be, that in the nature and genius of servitude, there is a tendency to innovation, always discontented, sullen and unquiet.

XXXI. Publius Ostorius was appointed governor of Britain, in the character of proprætor. On his arrival he found the province in commotion. A new commander, with an army wholly unknown to him, the Barbarians imagined would not venture to open a winter campaign. Fierce with this idea, they made an irruption into the territory of the states in alliance with Rome, and carried devastation through the country. Ostorius, knowing how much depends on the first operations of war, put himself at the head of the light cohorts, and, by rapid marches, advanced against

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the enemy. The Britons were taken by surprise. All who resisted were put to the sword. The fugitives were pursued with prodigious slaughter. The rout was so complete, that there was no reason to apprehend a junction of their forces; but peace on those terms, the general knew, would be no better than disguised hostility. The legions would still be subject to perpetual alarms from a fierce and insidious enemy. He therefore resolved to disarm all who were suspected, and, by extending a chain of forts between the Nen and the Severn (*a*), to confine the malecontents between those two rivers. To counteract this design, the Icenians (*b*) took up arms; a brave and warlike people, who, at their own request, had lived in friendship with the Romans, and were, by consequence, unimpaired by the calamities of war. They formed a league with the adjacent states, and chose their ground for a decisive action. The place was inclosed with a rampart thrown up with sod, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access, that the Roman cavalry would not be able to force their way. Ostorius resolved to

storm the place. Though unsupported by the legions, he relied on the valour of the allied forces, and, having formed his disposition for the attack, ordered his cavalry to dismount, and act with the foot soldiers. The signal being given, the assault began, and the rampart was carried by assault. The Britons, inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of heroic bravery. In this engagement Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, saved the life of a Roman, and obtained the civic crown.

XXXII. The defeat of the Icenians drew after it important consequences. The neighbouring nations, no longer balancing between peace and war, laid down their arms. Ostorius led his army against the Cangians (*a*), and laid waste their country. The soldiers carried off a considerable booty, the enemy never daring to make head against them. Wherever they at-

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tempted to annoy the army by sudden skirmishes, they paid for their rashness. The sea, that lies between Britain and Ireland, was within a short march, when Ostorius received intelligence of an insurrection among the Brigantes (*b*). The news obliged him to return with expedition. Till every thing was secured in his rear, it was his maxim not to push on his conquests. The Brigantes were soon reduced to subjection. Such as resisted were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the rest. The Silures (*c*) were not so easily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous measures could induce them to submit. To bridle the insolence of that warlike race, Ostorius judged it expedient to form a camp for the legions in the heart of their country. For this purpose a colony, supported by a strong body of veterans, was stationed at Camalodunum (*d*), on the lands conquered from the enemy. From this measure a twofold effect was expected: the garrison would be able to overawe the insurgents, and give to the allied states a specimen of law and civil policy.

XXXIII. These arrangements settled, Ostorius marched against the Silures. To their natural ferocity that people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus (*a*). Renowned for his valour, and for various turns of good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had spread his fame through the island. His knowledge of the country, and his skill in all the wiles and stratagems of savage warfare, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a stand against a well-disciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovicians (*b*). Having there drawn to his standard all who considered peace with Rome as another name for slavery, he determined to try the issue of a battle. For this purpose he chose a spot (*c*) where the approach and the retreat were difficult to the enemy, and to himself every way advantageous. He took post in a situation defended by steep and craggy hills. In some places where the mountains opened, and the acclivity afforded an easy ascent, he fortified the spot with massy stones, heaped together in the form of a

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rampart. A river, with fords and shallows of uncertain depth, washed the extremity of the plain. On the outside of his fortifications, a vast body of troops shewed themselves in force, and in order of battle.

XXXIV. The chieftains of the various nations were busy in every quarter. They rushed along the ranks; they exhorted their men; they roused the timid; they confirmed the brave; and, by hopes, by promises, by every generous motive, inflamed the ardour of their troops. Caractacus was seen in every part of the field; he darted along the lines; he exclaimed aloud, "This day, my fellow-warriors, this "very day decides the fate of Britain. "The æra of liberty, or eternal bondage, "begins from this hour. Remember your "brave and warlike ancestors, who met "Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased "him from the coast of Britain. They "were the men who freed their country "from a foreign yoke; who delivered the "land from taxations, imposed at the will "of a master; who banished from your "sight the fasces and the Roman axes;

"and, above all, who rescued your wives BOOK XII.
"and daughters from violation." The soldiers received this speech with shouts of applause. With a spirit of enthusiastic valour, each individual bound himself by the form of oath peculiar to his nation, to brave every danger, and prefer death to slavery. A. U. C. 803. A. D. 50.

XXXV. The intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the spirit that animated their whole army, struck Ostorius with astonishment. He saw a river (*a*) to be passed; a palisade to be forced; a steep hill to be surmounted; and the several posts defended by a prodigious multitude. The soldiers, notwithstanding, burned with impatience for the onset. All things give way to valour, was the general cry. The tribunes and other officers seconded the ardour of the men. Ostorius reconnoitred the ground, and having marked where the defiles were impenetrable, or easy of approach, gave the signal for the attack. The river was passed with little difficulty. The Romans advanced to the parapet. The struggle there was obstinate, and, as long

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as it was fought with missive weapons, the Britons had the advantage. Ostorius ordered his men to advance under a military shell, and level the pile of stones, that served as a fence to the enemy. A close engagement followed. The Britons abandoned their ranks, and fled with precipitation to the ridge of the hills. The Romans pursued with eagerness. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary soldiers, forced their way to the summit of the hills, under a heavy shower of darts. The Britons, having neither breastplates nor helmets, were not able to maintain the conflict. The legions, sword in hand, or with their javelins, bore down all before them. The auxiliaries, with their spears and sabres, made prodigious havoc. The victory was decisive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners. His brother surrendered at discretion.

XXXVI. Caractacus fled for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. But adversity has no friends. By that princess he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had

waged war with the Romans during the last nine years (*a*). His fame was not confined to his native island; it passed into the provinces, and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such a length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother, followed next: he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom

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of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner:

XXXVII. "If to the nobility of my "birth, and the splendour of exalted station, "I had united the virtues of moderation, "Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, "but a royal visitor, and a friend. The "alliance of a prince, descended from an "illustrious line of ancestors; a prince, "whose sway extended over many nations, "would not have been unworthy of your "choice. A reverse of fortune is now the "lot of Caractacus. The event to you is "glorious, and to me humiliating. I had "arms, and men, and horses; I had wealth "in abundance: can you wonder that I "was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to universal dominion: and must mankind, by consequence, stretch their necks to the yoke? "I stood at bay for years: had I acted "otherwise, where, on your part, had been "the glory of conquest, and where, on "mine, the honour of a brave resistance?

" I am now in your power: if you are bent " on vengeance, execute your purpose; the " bloody scene will soon be over, and the " name of Caractacus will sink into ob- " livion. Preserve my life, and I shall be, " to late posterity, a monument of Roman " clemency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, his daughter, and his brother. Released from their fetters, they advanced to another tribunal near at hand, where Agrippina shewed herself in state. They returned thanks to her, and paid their veneration in the same style as they had before addressed to the emperor. The sight was altogether new. A woman, stationed amidst the ensigns and the armies of Rome, presented a spectacle unknown to the old republic: but in an empire acquired by the valour of her ancestors, Agrippina claimed an equal share.

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XXXVIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the victory over Caractacus was mentioned with the highest applause, as an event no way inferior to what had been seen in ancient times, when Publius Scipio

BOOK XII. brought Syphax in chains to Rome; when Lucius Paulus led Perses in captivity; and when other commanders exhibited to the Roman people kings and princes at their chariot wheels. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius. That officer had hitherto seen his operations crowned with success. He began soon after to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. Perhaps the war, by the overthrow of Caractacus, was thought to be at an end, and, in that persuasion, military discipline was relaxed; perhaps the enemy, enraged by the loss of that gallant chief, fought with inflamed resentment. A camp had been formed in the country of the Silures, and a chain of forts was to be erected. The Britons in a body surrounded the officer who commanded the legionary cohorts, and, if succours had not arrived in time from the neighbouring garrisons, the whole corps had been cut to pieces. The præfect of the camp, with eight centurions and the bravest of the soldiers, were killed on the spot. A foraging party, and the detachment sent to support them, were soon after attacked, and put to the rout.

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XXXIX. Ostorius, on the first alarm, ordered the light-armed cohorts to advance against the enemy. That reinforcement was insufficient, till the legionary soldiers marched to their support. The battle was renewed, at first on equal terms, but, in the end, to the disadvantage of the Britons. But their loss was inconsiderable. The approach of night prevented a pursuit. From that time the Britons kept up a constant alarm. Frequent battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought with their detached parties, roving in quest of plunder. They met in sudden encounters, as chance directed, or valour prompted; in the fens, in the woods, in the narrow defiles; the men, on some occasions, led on by their chiefs, and frequently without their knowledge, as resentment, or the love of booty, happened to incite their fury. Of all the Britons, the Silures were the most determined. They fought with obstinacy, with inveterate hatred. It seems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures must be extirpated, like that of the Sigambrians, formerly driven out of Germany, and transplanted into Gaul.

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That expression reached the Silures, and roused their fiercest passions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom the avarice of their officers sent in quest of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made prisoners. A fair distribution of the spoils and the captives drew the neighbouring states into the confederacy. Ostorius, at this time, was worn out with anxiety. He sunk under the fatigue, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a great and able commander, not, indeed, slain in battle, but overcome by the war.

XL. The death of Ostorius being known at Rome, the emperor, aware that a province of so much importance ought not to remain without a governor, sent Aulus Didius to take upon him the command. That officer set out with all possible expedition; but on his arrival found the island in a state of distraction. The legion under Manlius Valens had risked a battle, and suffered a defeat. In order to impress with terror the new commander, the Britons took care to swell the fame of their victory. Didius, on his part, was willing to magnify the loss.

The merit of the general, he knew, would rise in proportion to the danger surmounted; and if he failed, the difficulty would be an apology for his conduct. In the defeat of Valens, it was the nation of the Silures that struck the blow. Emboldened by success, they continued their prædatory war, till the arrival of Didius checked their operations. In this juncture Venusius was the British chieftain; a man, as already mentioned, born in the city of the Jugantes, and, since the loss of Caractacus, the first in fame for valour and military experience. He had married Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes; and while they lived on good terms, his fidelity to Rome remained inviolate. Being afterwards driven from her throne and bed, he pursued his revenge by open hostilities, and even dared to wage war against the Romans.

The quarrel was at first a civil war amongst themselves. Cartismandua contrived to seize, by stratagem, the brother of Venusius, with the rest of his kindred. The Britons by that event were fired with

BOOK XII. indignation. They scorned to submit to a female government (*a*), and, with the flower of their youth, attacked Cartismandua in the heart of her territories. The insurrection was foreseen, and a detachment from the cohorts was sent in time to counteract the motions of the enemy. An engagement followed, at first with doubtful success; but after a struggle, victory inclined to the side of the Romans. In another part of the country, the legion under the command of Cesius Nasica fought with equal success. Didius did not expose his person in any of these engagements. Impaired by years, and loaded with accumulated honours, he was content to act by his inferior officers; and while the enemy was kept in check, the honour of doing it was not his passion. These transactions, which happened in the course of different years, under the conduct of Ostorius and Didius, are here related in one connected series, to avoid breaking the thread of the narration. I now return to the order of time.

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XLI. In the fifth consulship of Claudius, and the first of his colleague, Servius

Cornelius Orphitus, the manly gown was assigned to Nero, before his time, that, though still under age, he might appear qualified to take upon him a share in public business. The senate, in a fit of adulation, resolved that the young prince should be declared capable of the consulship at the age of twenty, and be considered, in the mean time, as consul elect, with proconsular authority out of the city, and the additional title of prince of the Roman youth. Claudius not only assented to those flattering decrees, but, in the name of Nero, gave a largess to the people, and a donative to the army. To conciliate the affections of the people, the Circensian games were likewise exhibited. During that spectacle, Britannicus and Nero passed in review; the former clad in the prætexta, or the dress of his boyish days; the latter, with the triumphal ornaments of a Roman general. So glaring a difference struck the spectators, as a certain prelude of their future fortunes. Among the centurions and tribunes there were men of principle, who beheld the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. All such were removed

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from court; some under pretence of advancing them to higher offices, and the rest for plausible reasons. The policy was extended even to the freedmen. In that class, whoever was found to be above corruption, was dismissed from his place.

The two young princes met by accident. Nero saluted Britannicus by name, and in return was familiarly called DOMITIUS. This incident gave umbrage to Agrippina. She flew to the emperor with her complaint: "Contempt," she said, "was thrown "on the adoption of Nero; what the senate "decreed, and the voice of the people ratified, was repealed with contumacy in the "very palace. If the men, who taught "those dangerous lessons, were not repressed, the mischief would increase, and, "perhaps, prove fatal to the commonwealth." Claudius was easily alarmed. He considered what was no more than bare surmise, as a crime then actually committed, and, accordingly, either sent into banishment, or put to death the best and ablest of his son's tutors. New men were appointed to superintend the prince's

education, and the choice was left to the stepmother. BOOK XII. A. U. C. 804. A. D. 51.

XLII. AGRIPPINA had still greater objects in view, but Lusius Geta and Rufius Crispinus were first to be removed from the command of the prætorian bands. They were both under obligations to Messalina, and by sentiment, attached to her children. Men of their disposition might obstruct her measures. She represented to the emperor, that, under two rival commanders, the soldiers would be divided into factions; but if that important office centered in one person, all would act with a principle of union, and strict attention to military discipline. Claudius concurred in the same opinion. The command was given to Afranius Burrhus; an officer of great experience and a warlike character, but disposed to remember the friend that raised him to that elevation. Having succeeded in these arrangements, Agrippina thought it time to act without reserve; she claimed a right to be conveyed in her carriage to the capitol; a right, by ancient usage, allowed only to the sacerdotal order,

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the vestal virgins, and the statues of the gods. Being now communicated to Agrippina, it could not fail to raise the veneration of the people for a princess, in whom they saw the daughter (*a*), sister, wife, and mother of an emperor; a combination of illustrious titles never, before that time, united in one person.

In this juncture, Vitellius, the active leader of Agrippina's faction, after having stood high in the esteem of Claudius, was at last, in an advanced age, involved in a prosecution, set on foot against him by Junius Lupus, a member of the senate. Such is the instability of human grandeur! The charge imported violated majesty, and a design to seize the reins of government. Claudius was willing to listen to the story; but, by the interposition of Agrippina, who scorned to descend to prayers and supplications, the blow recoiled upon the prosecutor. He was interdicted from fire and water. To stretch resentment further was not the wish of Vitellius.

XLIII. In the course of this year, the

people were kept in a constant alarm by a succession of portents and prodigies. Birds of evil omen infested the capitol; earthquakes were felt; houses were laid in ruin, and while the multitude, in a general panic, pressed forward to make their escape, the feeble and infirm were trampled under foot. A dearth of corn brought on a famine: this too was deemed a prodigy. The people were not content to murmur their discontents; they crowded to the tribunal, and gathering round the emperor, then sitting in judgment, they forced him from his seat, and pushed him to the extremity of the forum. The guards came to his assistance, and Claudius made his way through the crowd. Fifteen days subsistence was the most that Rome had then in store. The winter, providentially, was mild and favourable to navigation: distress and misery must, otherwise, have been the consequence. In former times the case was very different. Italy was the granary that supplied foreign markets. Even at this hour, the prolific vigour of the soil is not worn out; but to depend on Egypt and Africa is the prevailing system. The lives of the

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people are, by choice, committed to the caprice of winds and waves.

XLIV. In the same year the flame of war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians. The Romans and the Parthians were, by consequence, involved in the quarrel. The sceptre of Parthia was at that time swayed by Vologeses, with the consent of his brothers, though his mother, by birth a Greek, was no higher than a concubine. Pharasmanes reigned in Iberia, confirmed on his throne by long possession. His brother, Mithridates, received the regal diadem of Armenia from the power of Rome. The former had a son named Rhadamistus, of a tall and graceful stature, remarkable for bodily vigour, and an understanding perfectly trained in the political school of his father. His talents were high in the esteem of all the neighbouring states. He saw, with impatience, the old age of his father protracted to a length of years. To disguise his ambition was no part of his character. He expressed his discontent in a manner that alarmed Pharasmanes. That monarch saw the as-

piring genius of his son; and, being in the decline of life, he dreaded the enterprising spirit of a young man, who had conciliated to himself the affections of the people. To change the tide of his passions, and find employment for him elsewhere, he held forth the kingdom of Armenia as a dazzling and inviting object: he himself, he said, expelled the Parthians, and placed Mithridates on the throne. Pharasmanes added, that it would not be advisable to proceed with open force. Covert stratagem might deceive Mithridates, and ensure success.

Rhadamistus made the best of his way to his uncle's court, as to a place of shelter from the displeasure of his father, and the tyranny of a stepmother. He met with a gracious reception. Mithridates treated him as his own son, with all the tenderness of a father. The young prince, in the mean time, drew to his interest the nobility of the country; and, while his uncle loaded him with favours, he was busy in forming a conspiracy against the crown and life of his benefactor.

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XLV. Having concerted his measures, he returned, under colour of a family-reconciliation, to his father's court. He there explained the progress of his treachery, the snares that were prepared, and the necessity of giving the finishing blow by force of arms. To find ostensible reasons for open hostility, was not difficult to a politic genius like that of Pharasmanes. He alleged, that in the war between himself and the king of the Albanians, his application to the Romans, for a reinforcement, was defeated by the practices of Mithridates; and an injury of so heinous a nature could not be expiated by any thing less than the ruin of the man who did the mischief. To this end, he gave the command of his forces to his son, who entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. An invasion so unexpected filled Mithridates with consternation. He fled the field, and, leaving the enemy in possession of his camp, threw himself into the fort of Gorneas (*a*); a place strong by nature, and defended by a Roman garrison, under the command of Cælius Pollio, the præfect, and Casperius, a centurion. The machi-

nations of a siege, and the use of warlike engines, are things unknown to savage nations: the Romans have reduced that branch of the military art to a regular system. Rhadamistus attempted to carry the works by assault, but without effect, and with considerable loss. He formed a blockade, and, in the mean time, made his approaches to the avarice of the governor. By bribes and presents he bargained with that officer to betray his trust. The centurion protested against so foul a treachery, declaring, in a tone of firmness, that he would neither agree to give up a confederate prince, nor to barter away the kingdom of Armenia, which had been assigned to Mithridates by the Roman people.

Pollio, the commander in chief, affected to dread the superior force of the enemy; and Rhadamistus, pleading the orders of his father, still urged on the siege. In this distress, Casperius, the centurion, stipulated a cessation of arms, and left the garrison, in order to have an interview with Pharasmanes, and deter him from prosecuting the war. If his endeavours failed, he resolved

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to proceed with expedition to Ummidius Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, in order to make that governor acquainted with the state of affairs, and the iniquity of the whole proceeding.

XLVI. The centurion had no sooner left the place, than Pollio felt himself at liberty to act without controul. He advised Mithridates to compromise the quarrel, and end the war by a regular treaty. He urged the ties of natural affection between brothers, and the rights of seniority, which preponderated in favour of Pharasmanes. He added, that "Mithridates was, in fact, "the son-in-law of his brother, and, at the "same time, uncle, and father-in-law to "Rhadamistus. The Iberians were su-"perior in number, and yet willing to "accede to terms of pacification. The "perfidy of the Armenians was become "proverbial. Pent up in a fortress, ill "supplied with provisions, he could not "hope to hold out much longer. In that "distress, what room was left for delibera-"tion? Peace, on reasonable terms, was "preferable to a destructive war."

Such were the arguments urged by Cælius Pollio; but Mithridates suspected the counsels of a man, who had seduced one of the royal concubines, and shewn himself a venal tool, ready at the beck of the highest bidder, to commit any crime however atrocious. Meanwhile, Casperius reached the court of Pharasmanes. He expostulated with that monarch, and pressed him to raise the siege. The politic king amused the centurion with plausible answers. He talked in equivocal terms, and drew the business into a negociation, while his secret dispatches urged Rhadamistus, by any means, and without delay, to make himself master of the place. Pollio raised the price of his treachery, and Rhadamistus complied with his terms. In consequence of their bargain, the governor, by corrupt practices, contrived to make the soldiers demand a capitulation, and, if not granted, to threaten one and all to abandon the place. Mithridates, in that extremity, fixed the time and place for a congress, and went out of the garrison.

XLVII. Rhadamistus advanced to

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meet him. He rushed to the king's embrace; he offered every mark of duty and respect to his uncle and his father-in-law; and, by a solemn oath, assured him that he would not at any time employ either sword or poison against his life. He decoyed Mithridates into a neighbouring wood, where he said a sacrifice was prepared, to ratify the treaty in the presence of the gods. Among the eastern kings, whenever they enter into mutual engagements, a peculiar custom prevails: the contracting parties take each other by the right hand, and with a ligature bind their thumbs together, till the blood is forced to the extremities, and with a slight puncture finds a vent. As it gushes forth, the kings apply their mouths to the orifice, and suck each other's blood. The treaty, in this manner, receives the highest sanction, signed, as it were, with the blood of the parties. On the present occasion, the person, whose office it was to tie the knot, pretending to have made a false step, fell at the feet of Mithridates, and laying hold of his knees, brought him to the ground. A crowd rushed in and bound the prostrate king with fetters. A

chain was fastened to his foot, and in that condition (esteemed by those nations the highest disgrace) he was dragged along with brutal violence. The populace, resenting the grievances which they had suffered under an oppressive and despotic reign, insulted him with vulgar scurrility, and even blows. Thinking men beheld the sad reverse with compassion. The wife of the unhappy monarch followed with her children, and filled the place with shrieks and lamentations. They were all secured in covered carriages, apart from each other, till the pleasure of Pharasmanes should be known. Lust of power was the passion of that prince. For a brother and a daughter not one tender sentiment remained. He ordered them to be put to death; but, though inured to crimes, not in his sight. Rhadamistus observed his oath with a pious fraud, that added to his guilt. He had bound himself not to use either sword or poison; but he smothered his uncle under a load of clothes, and by that evasion satisfied the religion of a murderer. The children of the unhappy

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XLVIII. This act of treachery, and the murders that followed it, were soon made known to Quadratus. He called a council of war, and, after stating that the enemies of the deceased king were in possession of his dominions, the point which he submitted to consideration was, Whether, in that conjuncture, vindictive measures were advisable. Few at the meeting retained a sense of public honour. Maxims of policy and self-interest weighed with the majority. "The guilt," they said, "of "foreign nations gave a solid advantage to "the empire, and for that reason ought to "be a source of joy. To foment divisions "among the enemies of Rome was the "truest wisdom; and, with that view, the "crown of Armenia had been often, with "a show of generosity, dealt out by the "emperor as the special gift of the Roman "people. Let Rhadamistus hold his ill-"gotten power; he will hold it with in-"famy, and the execration of mankind:

" while he owes his elevation to his crimes, BOOK XII.
" he will effectually serve the interests of
" Rome." This reasoning prevailed. The A. U. C. 804. A. D. 51.
council, however, wished to save appearances. That they might not be thought to countenance a foul transaction, which might afterwards provoke the emperor to issue contrary orders, it was agreed to send dispatches to Pharasmanes, requiring him forthwith to evacuate Armenia, and recall his son.

XLIX. In that juncture Julius Pelignus, with the title of procurator, commanded in Cappadocia; a man, whom all orders of the people beheld with contempt and derision. The deformity of his person excited ridicule, and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his outward figure. He had lived, notwithstanding, in the closest intimacy with Claudius, at the time when that prince, as yet a private man, passed the hours of a stupid and listless life in the company of buffoons. Pelignus, in a fit of vain-glory, undertook to recover Armenia. Having drawn together the auxiliaries of the province, he marched at

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the head of his forces, and, in his route, plundered the allies, as if the war was with them, instead of the Iberians. Harassed by the sudden incursions of the barbarians, and deserted by his followers, he was left without resource. In that distress, he fled to Rhadamistus. Bribery soon purchased a man of his description. He advised the prince to assume the regal diadem, and assisted, under arms, at the coronation, at once the author of the measure, and the soldier to support it. A proceeding so vile and infamous could not be long unknown to the eastern nations. The character of the Roman generals might, by consequence, sink into contempt; and therefore, to wipe off the disgrace, Helvidius Priscus was sent at the head of a legion, with orders to act as exigencies might require. That officer pressed forward with expedition. He passed mount Taurus, and, in the course of his march, restored the public tranquillity, not so much by the terror of his arms as by the wisdom and moderation of his councils. There was reason, however, to fear that his approach would give jealousy to the Par-

thians. To avoid a rupture with that people, Helvidius was ordered to return with his army into Syria.

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L. Vologeses thought it a fair opportunity to recover the kingdom of Armenia. His ancestors had swayed the sceptre of that country, and now a foreign invader, by guilt and treachery, usurped the crown. The Parthian king saw his own brother Tiridates deprived of power. His pride could not brook that any part of his family should be left in that humble condition. Determined to dethrone the usurper, and invest his brother Tiridates with the regal diadem, he put himself at the head of a powerful army. The Iberians, without hazarding a battle, fled before the Parthian monarch. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two principal cities of Armenia, opened their gates to the invader. The inclemency of the winter season, and the want of due attention to provide for the subsistence of an army, brought on a famine, and, by consequence, an epidemic disease. Vologeses was obliged to abandon his enterprise. Armenia was once

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more left defenceless. Rhadamistus seized his opportunity, and returned to his dominions, elate with pride, and fired with resentment against a people who had already betrayed him, and with their national inconstancy were ready on the first occasion to repeat their treachery. He mounted the throne; but the people, though inured to servitude, grew impatient of the yoke. They resolved to depose the usurper, and in a body rushed forward, sword in hand, to invest the palace.

LI. RHADAMISTUS was obliged to consult his safety by flight. He escaped with his wife, and both owed their lives to the speed of their horses. The queen was far advanced in her pregnancy. Her dread of the enemy, conspiring with conjugal affection, served to animate her in the first hurry of their flight. She bore the fatigue with wonderful resolution. Her condition, however, was too feeble for the violence of so rapid a motion. Seized with pains in her womb, and unable to hold out longer, she intreated her husband to end her misery, and, by an honourable death, prevent

the insults of impending bondage. Rhadamistus was distracted by the violence of contending passions; he clasped her in his arms; he supported her drooping spirits, and, by every tender persuasion, exhorted her to persevere. Her virtue charmed him, and the idea of leaving her to the embraces of another, pierced him to the quick. In a fit of despair and love, he drew his scimitar, and with a hand already imbrued in blood, wounded the idol of his heart. In that condition he dragged her to the margin of the Araxes, and dashed her into the river, that her body might be carried away by the current, and never fall into the hands of his enemies. Having thus disposed of his wife, he fled towards Iberia, and pursued his way to his father's court.

Meanwhile Zenobia (so the princess was named), floating gently down the stream, was seen by the shepherds on the smooth surface of the water, struggling in distress, and still with manifest signs of life. The elegance and dignity of her form announced a person of illustrious rank. They

BOOK XII. bound up her wounds, and gave her the physic of the field. Having soon after learned her name, and the story of her sufferings, they conveyed her to the city of Artaxata. From that place she was conducted, at the public expence, to the court of Tiridates, where she was graciously received, and treated with all the marks of royalty.

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LII. DURING the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho, an accusation was set on foot against Furius Scribonianus. He was charged with having consulted the Chaldæans about the length of the emperor's reign, and condemned to banishment. Junia his mother, who had been formerly driven into exile, was accused of harbouring resentment, and still feeling with indignation the severity of her fate. Her husband Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia, and obtained his pardon. From that circumstance, and, in the present case, from a second instance of clemency to a disaffected family, Claudius took occasion to boast of his moderation. The unhappy

exile did not long survive his sentence; but whether he died by poison, or a natural death, cannot now be known. Reports were various at the time. The astrologers and mathematicians were banished out of Italy, by a decree of the senate, full of rigour, but ending in nothing. In a speech to the fathers Claudius bestowed great commendation on such of the members of that assembly as abdicated their rank on account of their narrow circumstances. Some were unwilling to withdraw their names, but they were all degraded as obstinate men, who to their poverty added pride and insolence.

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LIII. During these transactions, a motion was made in the senate for a law to inflict certain penalties on such women as should disparage themselves by intermarrying with slaves. The senate decreed, that all who descended to so mean an act, without the consent of the master of the slave, should be considered as persons who had forfeited their rank, and passed into a state of slavery; if the master consented, his approbation should operate as a manu-

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mission only. The honour of this regulation the emperor ascribed to Pallas, and thereupon Barea Soranus, consul elect, moved, that the author of so wise a measure should be rewarded with prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen million of sesterces. By way of amendment to the motion, Cornelius Scipio proposed that public thanks should be given to a man, who derived his origin from the ancient kings of Arcadia, and, notwithstanding the dignity of his rank, condescended to be classed among the ministers of the emperor. Claudius informed the senate, that Pallas was content with honours, and felt no ambition to emerge from his state of poverty. A decree was engraved on brass (*a*), exhibiting to the public eye a panegyric on the moderation of a manumitted slave, who had amassed no less than three hundred million of sesterces, and, with that sum in his pocket, could give so striking an example of ancient parsimony.

LIV. Pallas had a brother known by the name of Felix, who had been for some time governor of Judæa. This man

did not think it necessary to prescribe any restraint to his own desires. He considered his connection with the emperor's favourite as a license for the worst of crimes. The Jews, it is true, with a spirit little short of open rebellion, had refused, in the reign of Caligula, to place the statue of that emperor in the temple. Intelligence of his death arrived soon after; but even that event was not sufficient to allay the ferment. Future princes might have the same ambition, and the dread of a similar order kept the province in agitation. Felix inflamed the discontents of the people by improper remedies; and Ventidius Cumanus, to whom a part of the province was committed, was ready to co-operate in any wicked project. The Galilæans were under the controul of Cumanus; Felix governed the Samaritans. Those two nations, always fierce and turbulent, were at variance with each other, and now, when they despised their governors, their animosity broke out with redoubled fury.

They waged a predatory war; laid waste each other's lands, rushed from their ambus-

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cade to sudden encounters, and, at times, tried their strength in regular engagements. The plunder of the war was given up to their rapacious governors, who, therefore, connived at the mischief. The disorders of the province grew to an alarming height, insomuch that the two governors were forced, at last, to have recourse to arms in order to quell the tumult. The Jews resisted, and numbers of the Roman soldiers were massacred in the fray. Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, saw the danger of an impending war, and, to restore the public tranquillity, advanced at the head of his forces. The insurgents, who rose in arms against the Roman soldiers, were punished with death. That measure was soon decided; but the conduct of Felix and Cumanus held the general in suspense. Claudius, duly apprised of the rebellion, and the causes from which it sprung, sent a commission directing an enquiry, with power to try and pronounce judgment on the two provincial ministers. To make an end of all difficulties, Quadratus placed Felix on the tribunal among the judges, and, by that measure, sheltered him from

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his enemies. Cumanus was found guilty of the crimes committed by both, and in this manner the peace of the province was restored. BOOK XII. A. U. C. 805. A. D. 52.

LV. CILICIA was soon after thrown into convulsions. The peasants of that country, known by the name of the Clitæans (*a*), a wild and savage race, inured to plunder and sudden commotions, assembled under Trosobor, a warlike chief, and pitched their camp on the summit of a mountain, steep, craggy, and almost inaccessible. From their fastnesses they came rushing down on the plain, and stretching along the coast attacked the neighbouring cities. They plundered the people, robbed the merchants, and utterly ruined navigation and commerce. They laid siege to the city of Anemurium, and dispersed a body of horse, sent from Syria, under Curtius Severus, to the relief of the place. With that detachment the freebooters dared to hazard battle. The ground being rugged, disadvantageous to cavalry, and convenient only to foot soldiers, the Romans were totally routed. At length Antiochus, the reigning king of

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the country, appeased the insurrection. By popular arts he gained the good will of the multitude, and proceeded by stratagem against their leader. The confederates being ruined by disunion among themselves, Trosobor, with his principal adherents, was put to death. By conciliating measures the rest were brought to a sense of their duty.

LVI. It was about this time, that between the lake Fucinus and the river Liris (*a*), a passage was cut through a mountain. That a work of such magnificence (*b*) should be seen to advantage, Claudius exhibited on the lake a naval engagement, in imitation of Augustus, who formed an artificial bason on the banks of the Tiber, and gave a spectacle of the same kind, but with lighter vessels, and an inferior number of mariners. Ships of three and even four ranks of oars were equipped by Claudius, with no less than nineteen thousand armed men on board. To prevent a deviation from the fight, the lake was fenced round with rafts of timber (*c*), leaving the intermediate space wide enough to give

free play to the oars; ample room for the pilots to display their skill, and, in the attack, to exhibit the various operations of a sea fight. The prætorian guards stood on the rafts of timber, ranged in their several companies. In their front redoubts were raised, with proper engines for throwing up massy stones and all kinds of missive weapons. The rest of the lake was assigned to the ships. The mariners and combatants filled the decks. An incredible multitude of spectators from the neighbouring towns, and even from Rome, attracted by the spectacle, or with a view to pay their court to the emperor, crowded round the borders of the lake. The banks, the rising ground, the ridge of the adjacent hills, presented to the eye a magnificent scene, in the form of an amphitheatre. Claudius and Agrippina presided at the show; the prince in a superb coat of mail, and the empress in a splendid mantle, which was a complete tissue of entire gold (*d*). The fleet was manned with malefactors; but the battle, nevertheless, was fought with heroic bravery. After many wounds, and a great effusion of blood, to favour a set

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of men who had performed feats of valour, the survivors were excused from fighting to destruction.

LVII. THE whole of this magnificent spectacle being concluded, the channel through which the waters flowed was laid open, and then it appeared with what little skill the work was executed. The bed was not sunk deep enough to gain a level either with the middle or the extremities of the lake. It was found necessary to clear away the ground, and give the current a freer course. The work was finished with expedition, and, to attract a multitude of spectators, bridges were thrown over the lake, so constructed as to admit a foot engagement. On this prodigious platform a show of gladiators was exhibited. Near the mouth of the lake a sumptuous banquet was prepared; but the spot was ill-chosen. The weight of a vast body of water rushing down with irresistible force, carried away the contiguous parts of the works, and shook the whole fabric. Confusion and uproar filled the place. The roar of the torrent, and the noise of materials tumbling

in, spread a general alarm. Claudius stood in astonishment. Agrippina seized the moment to accuse Narcissus, who had the direction of the whole. She imputed the mischief to his avarice. The favourite made reprisals on the character of Agrippina, condemning, without reserve, the impotence of a female spirit, her overbearing pride, and boundless ambition. BOOK XII. A. U. C. 805. A. D. 52.

LVIII. Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius succeeded to the consulship. In the course of the year Nero, who had attained the age of sixteen, was joined in marriage to Octavia, the emperor's daughter. To grace his character with the fame of liberal science and the powers of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the inhabitants of Ilium. The young orator began with a deduction of the Roman people from a Trojan origin. Æneas, the founder of the Julian family, and other passages drawn from antiquity, but in their nature fabulous, served to embellish his discourse. He succeeded for his clients, and obtained an entire exemption from imposts of every kind. He was advocate also A. U. C. 806. A. D. 53.

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for the colony of the Bolognians, who had lately suffered by fire. By the rhetoric of their pleader they obtained a grant of one hundred thousand sesterces. The Rhodians, in like manner, were obliged to his talents. That people, after many vicissitudes, sometimes in full possession of their privileges, and occasionally deprived of all, as they happened to be friendly or adverse to the Roman arms, had their rights confirmed in the amplest manner. The city of Apamea, which had been damaged by an earthquake, owed to the eloquence of their advocate a suspension of all dues for the term of five years.

LIX. In a short time after, the conduct of Claudius, under the management of the wife, presented a contrast of cruelty to all these acts of benevolence. Agrippina panted for the gardens of Statilius Taurus. He had been proconsul of Africa, and possessed a brilliant fortune. Tarquitius Priscus had served under him as his lieutenant. At the instigation of Agrippina, this man preferred a charge against his superior officer, founded on some articles

of extortion, but resting chiefly on the practice of magic arts. Taurus was fired with indignation at the perfidy of his colleague. Seeing himself devoted to destruction, he resolved not to wait the final sentence, and with his own hand delivered himself from the malice of his enemies. The prosecutor was expelled the senate. The members of that assembly, detesting the treachery of this vile informer, carried their point, in spite of the arts and secret influence of Agrippina.

LX. In the course of this year, the emperor gave to his favourite political maxim the force of a law. He had been often heard to say, "that the judicial resolutions "of the imperial procurators ought to be, "in their several provinces, of as high au- "thority as if they had been pronounced "by himself." To shew that this was not spoken in vain, the doctrine was confirmed by a decree that carried the principle to a greater extent than ever. By a regulation made by Augustus, the Roman knights, who ruled the provinces of Ægypt, were empowered, in all cases, to hear and deter-

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mine with as full authority as the magistrates of Rome. The rule was afterwards extended to other provinces, and, even at Rome, the jurisdiction of the knights embraced a variety of questions, which till then were cognizable by the prætor only. Claudius enlarged the powers of his favourites, and finally vested in that body the judicial authority, which had been for ages the cause of civil commotions; for which the people had shed their blood; and which, in those memorable struggles, was given by the Sempronian law (*a*) to the equestrian order, till, in some time afterwards, the Servilian law restored it to the senate. In the wars between Marius and Sylla this was the cause of that fierce contention; but, in those turbulent times, the different orders of the state were engaged in factions against each other. The party that prevailed, called itself the Public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, supported by Augustus, were the first who decided the rights of war and peace. To mention, after them, the names of Matius, Vedius, and others of the eque-

strian order, seems now entirely needless; since we find the enfranchised slaves of Claudius, men no higher than mere domestic servants, raised to a level with the prince, and armed with the authority of the laws.

LXI. A GRANT to the people of Coos (*a*), of a general immunity from taxes, was the next measure proposed by the emperor. He introduced the question with a splendid account of their ancient origin. "The "Argives, or, at least, Cœus, the father of "Latona, first settled on the island. Æscu-"lapius arrived soon after, and carried "with him the invention of medicine. "That useful science continued in his "family through a long line of descend-"ants." He mentioned by name the several persons in regular succession, and the period of time in which they flourished. He added, that Zenophon, his own physician, was descended from that illustrious family. The exemption, therefore, now requested by a man of such distinguished eminence, ought to be granted, in favour of an island so famous in story, to the end

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that the inhabitants, free from every burthen, might dedicate themselves altogether to the worship of their God. A more substantial plea of merit might have been urged in their favour. They could boast, with truth, of singular services done to the Romans, and could set forth the victories obtained by their assistance; but Claudius, with his usual facility, chose to gratify the wishes of an individual, and, in his opinion, the favour which he conferred ought not to be varnished with considerations of a public nature.

LXII. The deputies from Byzantium (*a*) were admitted to an audience before the senate. They prayed to be relieved from the heavy rates and duties under which they laboured. They relied on the merit of having been, for a length of time, the faithful allies of Rome. They traced the history of their services from the war in Macedonia, when the king of that country, on account of his degenerate character, was called Pseudophilippus, or Philip the False (*b*). They alleged, moreover, the succours which they sent against Anti-

ochus (*c*); against Perses, and Aristonicus; the assistance, which they gave to Anthony (*d*) in the piratic war, and, afterwards, to Sylla, to Lucullus, and Pompey. Nor did they omit their zeal for the Cæsars at the time when they entered Byzantium, and found not only a free passage for their fleets and armies, but likewise a safe conveyance for their provisions and military stores.

LXIII. Byzantium, it is well known, stands at the extremity of Europe, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia. The city was built by the Greeks, who were led to the spot by the Pythian Apollo. They consulted that oracle about the proper place for a new city, and received for answer, that they should choose a foundation directly opposite to the territory of the blind. The advice, though dark and mysterious, pointed the people of Chalcedon (*a*), the first adventurers in that part of the world, who had their opportunity to seize the best situation, and, through want of discernment, chose the worst. Byzantium enjoys many advant-

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ages; the soil is fertile, and the sea abounds with fish, occasioned by the prodigious shoals, that pour down from the Pontic sea, and, to avoid the rocks which lurk beneath the waves on the Chalcedonian coast, make directly to the opposite shore, and fall into the bay of Byzantium. The fishery was at first a great branch of commerce. In process of time, the trade was cramped by excessive impositions; and to be relieved, either by a total extinction, or, at least, a reduction of the duties, was now the prayer of their petition. Claudius was inclined to favour their cause: in the late wars in Thrace and Bosphorus, they had suffered heavy losses; and it was, therefore, proper to grant them a compensation. They were accordingly freed from all duties for the term of five years.

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LXIV. In the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius, a succession of prodigies kept the minds of men in constant dread of some violent convulsion in the state. The tents and ensigns of the soldiers were set on fire by a flash of lightning; a swarm of bees settled on the

capitol; women were delivered of monstrous births; and a pig, as soon as farrowed, had the talons of a hawk. It happened, at this time, that every order of the magistracy was short of its proper number, the public having lost by death, within a few months, a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul. This was reckoned among the prodigies. Amidst the consternation that covered the whole city, no person whatever was so seriously alarmed as Agrippina. Claudius, it seems, had said in conversation, that, by some fatality, it had been his constant lot to bear, for a time, the irregularities of his wives, and in the end to punish them. The expression fell from him in his liquor. Agrippina knew the force of it, and resolved to take her measures beforehand. But Domitia Lepida, whom she hated for female reasons, was to be the first devoted victim. She was the daughter of the younger Antonia, great niece to Augustus, and sister to Cneius Domitius (*a*), the first husband of the empress. Proud of these advantages, Lepida considered herself no way inferior to the imperial consort. Their age, their beauty,

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and their riches were nearly on a level; both of dissolute manners, proud, fierce, lascivious, and in their vices, no less than their views of ambition, determined rivals. Which of them should have entire dominion over the mind of Nero, the aunt or the mother, was the point in dispute between them. Lepida made her approaches to the young prince by affability and softness of manners. Her liberality and endearing tenderness gained the affections of the prince. Agrippina behaved with the authority of a mother, eager to grasp the imperial dignity for her son, and, when she gained it, unwilling to own him for her sovereign.

LXV. A CHARGE was framed against Lepida, importing, "That by magic arts "she aspired to the emperor's bed, and, by "neglecting to bridle the insolence of her "numerous slaves in Calabria, she shewed "herself an enemy to the peace of Italy." She was condemned to die. Narcissus endeavoured to avert the sentence; but his efforts were ineffectual. That minister had for some time beheld Agrippina with

deep mistrust. He saw through her designs, and, to his select friends, did not scruple to declare, "That whatever became "of the succession, whether it devolved on "Nero or Britannicus, the dilemma would "either way be fatal to himself. He was "bound, however, to the emperor by ties "of gratitude, and in his service was ready "to lay down his life. It was by his coun-"sels that Silius and Messalina were both "undone. Should Nero seize the sove-"reignty, the crimes of his mother might "bring forward the same catastrophe; and "if Britannicus succeeded to the empire, "with that prince he had no claim of merit. "At present, a stepmother plans the ruin "of the imperial house. To look on in "silence, and yield to her towering ambi-"tion, were a more flagitious crime, than "to have connived at the vices of the em-"peror's former wife. But the vices of the "former wife are now renewed by Agrip-"pina. Her adulterous commerce with "Pallas is too well known; and it is equally "known, that her modesty, her fame, her "honour, and even her person, all are sub-"servient to her ambition." Such was the

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language of Narcissus. In the warmth of his emotions he embraced Britannicus; he hoped to see him grow up to man's estate; he fixed his eyes on the prince; he lifted up his hands to the gods, devoutly praying that he might live to crush the enemies of his father, even though all, who took an active part against his mother, should be doomed to perish with them.

LXVI. In the midst of these distractions, Claudius was attacked by a fit of illness. For the recovery of his health he set out for Sinuessa (*a*), to try the effect of a milder air, and the salubrious waters of the place. Agrippina thought she had now an opportunity to execute the black design which she had long since harboured in her breast. Instruments of guilt were ready at her beck, but the choice of the poison was still to be considered: if quick and sudden in its operation, the treachery would be manifest: a slow corrosive would bring on a lingering death. In that case, the danger was, that the conspiracy might, in the interval, be detected, or, in the weakness and decay of nature, the affections of

a father might return, and plead in favour of Britannicus. She resolved to try a compound of new and exquisite ingredients, such as would make directly to the brain, yet not bring on an immediate dissolution. A person of well-known skill in the trade of poisoning was chosen for the business. This was the famous Locusta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandestine practices, but reserved among the instruments of state to serve the purposes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to administer it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whose business it was to serve the emperor's table, and taste the viands for his master.

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LXVII. The particulars of this black conspiracy transpired in some time after, and found their way into the memoirs of the age. We are told by the writers of that day, that a palatable dish of mushrooms was the vehicle of the poison. The effect was not soon perceived. Through excess of wine or the stupidity of his nature, perhaps the strength of his con-

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stitution, Claudius remained insensible. An effort of nature followed, and gave him some relief. Agrippina trembled for herself. To dare boldly was now her best expedient. Regardless of her fame, and all that report could spread abroad, she had recourse to Zenophon, the physician, whom she had seduced to her interest. Under pretence of assisting Claudius to unload his stomach, this man, it is said, made use of a feather tinged with the most subtle poison, and with that instrument searched the emperor's throat. With the true spirit of an assassin he knew, that, in atrocious deeds, a feeble attempt serves only to confound the guilty, while the deed, executed with courage, consummates all, and is sure to earn the wages of iniquity.

LXVIII. MEANWHILE, the senate was convened, and, though the emperor had breathed his last, the consuls and the pontiffs joined in vows and supplications for his recovery. Medical preparations were still applied to a lifeless body, and the farce of attending the sick was continued, till proper measures were taken for

the succession of Nero. Agrippina, with a dejected mien, affected to sink under the weight of affliction. She looked round for consolation, and seeing Britannicus, she folded him in her arms, and called him, with expressions of tenderness, the image of his father. She detained him with fond caresses, and never suffered him to leave the apartment. With the same deceitful arts she contrived to decoy his two sisters, Antonia and Octavia. The avenues of the palace were closely guarded, and, at intervals, favourable accounts of the emperor were issued, the better to keep every thing in suspense, and amuse the hopes and fears of the soldiers, till the arrival of the propitious moment, promised by the Chaldæan astrologers.

LXIX. At length, on the third day before the ides of October (*a*), about noon, the palace gates were thrown open. A prætorian cohort, as usual, was drawn up under arms. Nero, attended by Burrhus, made his appearance, and, on a signal given by the commanding officer, the soldiers received him with shouts and ac-

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clamations. He was immediately put into a litter. Some of the soldiers, we are told, even in that scene of joy and uproar, looked around for Britannicus, and asked in vain for that unfortunate prince. None of his party appearing, they yielded to the impulse of the moment. Nero was conveyed to the camp. He addressed the soldiers in a speech suited to the occasion, and promised a donative, equal to the liberality of his deceased father. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome. The voice of the army was confirmed by the senate. The provinces acquiesced without reluctance. Divine honours were decreed to the memory of Claudius, and funeral ceremonies, not inferior to the magnificence that attended the remains of Augustus. In this article, Agrippina was willing to vie with the pomp displayed by her great-grandmother Livia. The will of the deceased emperor was not read in public. The preference given to the son of his wife, in prejudice to the rights of his own immediate issue, might raise a spirit of discontent, and alienate the affections of the people.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIII.

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These transactions passed in four years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
808	55	*The emperor Nero, L. Antistius Vetus.*
809	56	*2. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.*
810	57	*Nero, 2d time, L. Calpurnius Piso.*
811	58	*Nero, 3d time, Valerius Messala.*

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

I. THE new reign opened with the murder of Junius Silanus (*a*), proconsul of Asia. The deed was perpetrated, by the contrivance of Agrippina, without the knowledge of Nero. In the character and conduct of Silanus there was nothing that could provoke his fate. Under the preceding emperors he had led a life so inactive, that he fell into contempt, and was called by Caligula, "The Golden Calf." But Agrippina had cut off his brother Lucius Silanus, and lived in fear of the vengeance due to her crime. Her son Nero, not yet arrived at years of discretion, was raised by her treacherous arts to the sovereign power,

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and, in opposition to that measure, the public voice was loud in favour of Silanus, a man every way qualified, of an understanding matured by years, an unblemished character, by his birth illustrious, and (what was then of great importance) descended from the house of Cæsar. Silanus, in fact, was the great grandson of Augustus. These circumstances conspired to work his ruin. The actors in this dark transaction were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, an enfranchised slave; both employed in Asia to collect the revenues of the prince. At a public feast those two conspirators administered a dose of poison to the proconsul with so little precaution, that secresy did not seem to be worth their care. The murder of Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, was dispatched with as little ceremony. The quarrel between him and Agrippina (*b*) has been already stated. He was thrown into prison, and there confined in close and rigorous custody, till, driven to the extremity of want, he put an end to his misery with his own hand. Nero wished to prolong his days. The secret vices of the

prince, though they had not then broke out into action, inclined him, by a wonderful bias of nature, to favour a man in whose avarice and prodigality he saw the counterpart of himself. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 807. A. D. 54.

II. A NUMBER of other victims were marked for destruction; and Rome would have been a theatre of blood, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented the impending danger. The education of the emperor had been committed to those two ministers: both high in power, and yet (uncommon as it is) free from jealousy; possessing different talents, united by sentiment, and each, in his peculiar province, of great consideration. Burrhus gave the prince instructions in the military science, and the austerity of his manners added weight to his precepts. Seneca taught the principles of eloquence, and charmed by the suavity of his manners. The two preceptors exerted their joint endeavours to fix in the prince's mind the principles of virtue, or, if that could not be, to restrain his youthful passions, and, by moderate

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indulgence, infuse into his mind a taste for elegant, if not innocent pleasures.

Agrippina threw difficulties in their way. Fierce with all the passions that attend inordinate ambition, she was supported, in her worst designs, by Pallas, that pernicious favourite, who incited Claudius to an incestuous marriage, and advised the adoption of Nero; two fatal measures, by which that emperor was precipitated to his ruin. But it was not in the temper or genius of Nero to bend to the politics of a freedman; on the other hand, the arrogance of Pallas, who aspired above himself, gave disgust to the prince. Public honours, in the mean time, were bestowed with a lavish hand on the emperor's mother. To a tribune, who, according to the military practice, asked for the word, Nero gave "THE BEST OF MOTHERS." Two lictors, by a decree of the senate, were ordered to attend her person. She was, at the same time, declared the priestess of Claudius. The funeral of that prince was performed with all the pomp of

censorial obsequies. He was, afterwards, added to the number of the gods. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 807. A. D. 54.

III. NERO pronounced the funeral oration. He represented, in the brightest colours, the illustrious birth of the deceased emperor, the number of his consulships, and the triumphal honours of his ancestors. On those topics he dwelt with propriety, and commanded attention. The taste of Claudius for the liberal arts, and the undisturbed tranquillity that prevailed throughout his reign, afforded ample room for panegyric, and the orator was heard with pleasure. But when the judgment and political wisdom of Claudius were mentioned with praise and decorations of language, the ridicule was too strong, and none could refrain from laughter. And yet the speech was written by Seneca, in a style of elegance peculiar to that amiable writer, who possessed a vein of wit and fancy, that charmed the taste of the age in which he lived. It was observed, on this occasion, by men advanced in life, who love, at leisure, to compare the past with the present times, that of all the em-

BOOK XIII. perors, Nero was the first, who was content to be the organ of another's eloquence. In A. U. C. 807. A. D. 54. Cæsar the dictator the most eminent orators found an illustrious rival. Augustus had a flow of language, easy, clear, and copious, well suited to the dignity of a prince. Precision was the talent of Tiberius; and if his meaning was sometimes obscure, it was when he chose to be dark and impenetrable. The confused and turbulent genius of Caligula did not transfuse itself into his discourse. Even in Claudius, when he came with a speech prepared and studied, there was no want of elegance. Nero, in the prime of life, took a different turn, and, with lively parts, applied himself to other objects. Engraving (*a*), painting, music, and horsemanship, were his favourite pursuits. At intervals he was fond of poetry, and his verses shewed that he had, at least, a tincture of letters.

IV. HAVING played the part of a public mourner, Nero made his appearance in the senate. He began with a florid compliment to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrent suffrages of the army, which

raised him to the imperial dignity. He added, "that he had many bright exam- "ples to excite emulation, and in his coun- "cils superior wisdom to direct his con- "duct. His youth had not been engaged "in civil commotions, and to the rage of "contending factions he was, by conse- "quence, an utter stranger. He brought "with him no private animosity, no sense "of injuries, no motives to inspire revenge. "He explained the system of government, "which he intended to pursue; the abuses "which occasioned discontent and mur- "murings in the former reign, were to be "reformed altogether; and, in particular, "the decision of causes, he was determin- "ed, should no longer depend on the au- "thority of the prince. The practice of "hearing in a chamber of the palace (*a*) "the accuser and the accused, and thereby "subjecting the lives and fortunes of men "to the influence of a few favourites, was "to be abolished. In his palace nothing "should be venal; nothing carried by in- "trigue, by bribery, or secret influence. "The revenues of the prince, and the pub- "lic treasure, should be distinct and sepa-

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" rate rights. The senate might retain the
" full exercise of the powers vested in that
" assembly by the spirit of the constitu-
" tion. Italy and the provinces might, in
" all cases, address themselves to the tri-
" bunal of the consuls, and, through that
" channel, find their way to the senate.
" The executive power over the army was
" his peculiar province, and he claimed no
" more (*b*)."

V. The promise was fair, and for some time regularly observed. The fathers of their own authority made several regulations, and among other things ordained, that no advocate should hire out his talents in any cause whatever. The law requiring (*a*) a spectacle of gladiators from such as were chosen to the office of quæstor, was entirely abrogated. To these resolutions, tending, in effect, to repeal the acts of Claudius, Agrippina made a strong opposition. In order to carry her point, she caused the senate to be convened in the palace, where, at a convenient station at the door behind the arras, she might conceal her person, and overhear the debate.

The fathers acted with a spirit of independence, and a decree was passed accordingly. On a subsequent occasion the ambassadors of Armenia were admitted to an audience before the prince. Agrippina advanced to the tribunal to take her seat, and preside with joint authority. All who beheld the scene were struck with terror and amazement, when Seneca, in the general confusion, had the presence of mind to bid the emperor step forward to meet his mother. Under an appearance of filial piety, the honour of the state was saved.

VI. Towards the end of the year, a report prevailed that the Parthians had once more invaded Armenia, and that Rhadamistus, tired of a kingdom so often taken and retaken, declined to end the dispute by force of arms. At Rome, where public affairs were discussed with freedom, the popular opinion was, "that Nero, young "in life, just out of his seventeenth year, "would not be equal to a conjuncture so "arduous and important. What dependance could be had on the flexibility of a "boy, still under the government of his

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" mother? He had tutors, indeed; but " would they undertake the command of " armies, the conduct of sieges, and all " the various operations of war?" It was argued on the other hand, " that the situa- " tion of affairs was better than it could " have been under a prince like Claudius, " worn out with age, and sunk in sloth, " the willing dupe of his favourite freed- " men. Burrhus and Seneca were men " of experience: and, with such advisers, " why conclude that Nero, bordering on " the season of manly vigour, was unequal " to the task? Pompey, at the age of " eighteen, and Octavianus Cæsar, having " barely passed his nineteenth year, were " both at the head of armies, in times big " with danger, amidst the distractions of a " civil war. It is by the wisdom of their " councils, and not by personal valour, " that princes are crowned with glory. " Whether the cabinet of Nero was filled " with evil counsellors, or with men of " talents and integrity, would soon be evi- " dent. If the emperor, without regard- " ing party connections and court intrigue, " chose a general, not on account of his

" wealth and interest, but for his military " character, the question would be then " fairly decided." BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 807. A. D. 54.

VII. While these different opinions kept the public mind in agitation, Nero ordered levies to be made in the eastern nations, and the legions, thus recruited, to take post on the confines of Armenia. He desired, at the same time, that Agrippa (*a*) and Antiochus, two oriental kings, should hold their forces in readiness to enter the territory of the Parthians. For the convenience of his armies, bridges were thrown over the Euphrates. The lesser Armenia (*b*) was committed to Aristobulus, and the country called Sophenes (*c*) to Sohemus: both princes were allowed to assume the ensigns of royalty. In this crisis a fortunate circumstance gave a sudden turn in favour of Rome. Vardanes, the son of Vologeses, became a competitor for the crown in opposition to his father. The Parthians were, by consequence, obliged to recall their armies, and under colour of deferring, not of abandoning the war, Armenia was evacuated.

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VIII. The fathers extolled these transactions with their usual strain of flattery. They voted that prayers and public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods, and that during the solemnity Nero, adorned with a triumphal robe, should enter the city with all the splendour of an ovation. It was farther resolved, that in the temple of Mars the Avenger a statue should be erected to the prince, in form and dimension equal to that of the god. Amidst this servile adulation, the appointment of Domitius Corbulo to the command of the army in Armenia, gave universal satisfaction. The road to preferment, men began to hope, would, from that time, be open to talents and superior merit. By the arrangement which was settled in the east, part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were stationed in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of that province. An equal number of legionary soldiers and allies, besides the cohorts and light troops that wintered in Cappadocia, were assigned to Corbulo. The kings in alliance with Rome had directions to co-operate with those generals,

as the events of war should happen to require. Corbulo was high in favour with the princes of the east. Aware that fame, in the beginning of all military operations, makes a deep impression, that general advanced by rapid journeys, and at Ægea (*a*), a city of Cilicia, met Quadratus, who chose an interview at that place, rather than wait till Corbulo shewed himself at the head of his army in the province of Syria, where he had reason to fear that the eyes of the people would be fixed on his rival in command. The fact was, Corbulo possessed many advantages: in his person manly, of a remarkable stature, and in his discourse magnificent, he united with experience and consummate wisdom those exterior accomplishments, which, though in themselves of no real value, give an air of elegance even to trifles.

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IX. The two commanders sent a joint message to Vologeses, warning him to prefer the sweets of peace to the calamities of war, and, by sending hostages, to mark his respect for the Roman name. The Parthian monarch, intending to wait for a

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more favourable opportunity, or, perhaps, wishing to remove from his court his most dangerous enemies, gave up as hostages the most distinguished of the line of the Arsacides. Histerius, a centurion, sent by Quadratus with orders to travel with expedition, received the hostages under his care; but Corbulo, apprised of this artful project, dispatched Arrius Varus, the commander of a cohort, to claim the care and custody of the Parthian nobles. The centurion resisted. A warm dispute ensued between the two officers, till at length, that they might not exhibit a ridiculous scene to foreign nations, the matter was referred to the decision of the hostages themselves, and the ambassadors who accompanied them. The Parthians, struck with the recent fame of the commander in chief, and, as often happens even among enemies, conceiving the highest respect for his person, gave the preference to Corbulo. Hence a new source of discord between the two generals. Quadratus complained, that the honour which he had acquired was unfairly wrested from him. Corbulo maintained his right, insisting that the idea of deliver-

ing up hostages had never occurred to Vologeses, till such time as his hopes were humbled by the name of the superior officer who had the conduct of the war. To appease their jealousy, Nero issued an order, that on account of the prosperous events achieved by the conduct of both generals, the imperial fasces under each of them should be decorated with wreaths of laurel. These transactions happened in different years; but, for the sake of perspicuity, they are here related in one connected series.

X. In the course of the same year, Nero desired that by a decree of the senate a statue might be erected to his father Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and that Asconius Labeo, his former tutor, might be honoured with the consular ornaments. The senate proposed, that statues of solid gold or silver should be erected in honour of the prince; but Nero had the modesty to reject the offer. A law was also in agitation, by which the year was to begin from December, the month in which Nero was born. This too was over-ruled. The em-

BOOK XIII. peror resolved to continue the old style, dating the year from the calends of January; a day rendered sacred by the established religion of the Romans. An attempt was made to arraign Carinas Celer, a member of the senate, and Julius Densus, of the equestrian order. The first was accused by his slave; the crime objected to the latter was his attachment to Britannicus. Both prosecutions were suppressed by order of the emperor.

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A. U. C. 808. A. D. 55. XI. NERO and Lucius Antistius were the next consuls. During the solemnity of swearing the magistrates, according to custom, on the acts of the emperor, Antistius had it in command not to include in his oath the acts of the reigning prince; an instance of modesty and self-denial, which the fathers thought could not be too highly commended. They were lavish of praise, in hopes that the sense of honest fame, even in matters of little moment, implanted early in the mind of a young man, might shoot up to a principle of honour, and the love of solid glory. In a short time after, Nero distinguished himself by an act

of clemency in the case of Plautius Lateranus (*a*), who, for his criminal intrigues with Messalina, had been expelled the senate. The emperor restored him to his rank. He even bound himself to observe throughout his reign the virtues of humanity. This promise he renewed in several speeches prepared for him by the pen of Seneca, and probably written to display the moral lessons which the philosopher taught, or to shew the brilliant talents of that lively writer.

XII. The authority of Agrippina was now on the decline. An enfranchised female slave of the name of Acte (*a*) had gained an entire ascendant over the affections of the prince. To conduct this intrigue, Nero chose Otho (*b*) and Claudius Senecio for his confidential friends; the former descended from a family of consular rank; the latter, the son of a freedman belonging to the late emperor. They were both elegant in their persons. Their taste for debauchery and clandestine vices introduced them to the notice of the prince. Their first approaches to his friendship

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were unperceived by Agrippina: she endeavoured afterwards to remove them from his presence, but her efforts were without effect. The emperor's friends, though famed for wisdom and the severity of their manners, made no opposition to his new intrigue. A courtesan, who gratified the ardour of a young man's passion, without injury to any person whatever, was thought an object of no importance. Nero, it is true, was married to Octavia; but neither the nobility of her birth, nor her unspotted virtue, could secure his affections. By some fatality, or, perhaps, by the secret charm of forbidden pleasures, his heart was alienated from his wife. The connection with his favourite concubine served to restrain the prince from other pursuits; and there was reason to fear, that detached from her, he might riot in scenes of higher life, and destroy the peace and honour of the noblest families.

XIII. AGRIPPINA was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchised slave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of

mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law. She stormed with all the rage of female pride, never reflecting that the prince might see his error, or that satiety and cold indifference might, in time, succeed to the vehemence of youthful passion. The haughty spirit of the mother served only to inflame the ardour of her son. He gave a loose to love, and threw off all regard for his mother, determined, for the future, to yield to no authority but that of Seneca. Among the friends of that minister was a man of the name of Annæus Serenus (*a*), who pretended to admire the person of Acte, and, to throw a veil over the growing passion of Nero, conveyed to her, in his own name, the presents sent by the secret gallantry of the prince. Agrippina thought it time to abate from her ferocity. She had recourse to art, and hoped by gentle methods to regain her influence. Her own apartment was now at her son's service. Love, at his time of life was natural, and his superior rank demanded some indulgence. Under the care and management of his mother he might enjoy his secret pleasures. She apologized for

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the warmth with which she broke out at first, and even made an offer of all her treasure, little inferior to imperial riches. Her conduct was always in extremes; violent in the beginning, and in the end too complying.

A transition so sudden did not escape the observation of Nero. His confidential friends were alarmed. Dreading nothing so much as the return of Agrippina's influence, they cautioned the prince not to be the dupe of a woman, who, in reality, abated nothing from the pride and arrogance of her character, though now she played an humble, but insidious part. It happened at this time that Nero examined a rich wardrobe, appropriated to the use of the mothers and wives of the emperors. He selected a splendid dress and a considerable quantity of jewels. These he ordered to be presented to Agrippina. The things were gay and magnificent, the kind of ornaments that please the taste and vanity of women, and, being unasked and unexpected, they were sent with a better grace. Agrippina construed this civility

into an affront. The design, she said, was not to adorn her person, but to deprive her of the rest of those valuable effects. Her son affected to divide with his mother what he owed entirely to her protection. Her words were reported to the emperor with additional malice. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 808. A. D. 55.

XIV. In order, by a sudden blow, to humble Agrippina and her party, Nero dismissed Pallas (*a*) from all his employments. By the favour of Claudius this man had been raised to a degree of power that made him assume the air and importance of first minister, and sovereign arbiter of the empire. As he withdrew from court with his train of followers, Nero pleasantly said, "Pallas is going to abdicate." Before he retired, it is certain that he had bargained for himself. It was agreed that no inquiry should be had into his conduct, and that all accounts between him and the public should be considered as closed and balanced. The indignation of Agrippina was not to be restrained: in a tone of menace she endeavoured to intimidate her enemies; even in the emperor's hearing, she

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exclaimed aloud, "Britannicus is grown "up, the genuine issue of Claudius, and "every way worthy of the succession to "his father. The sovereignty has been "wrested from him by an intruder, who "owes his title to adoption only, and now "presumes to trample on the rights of a "mother, who gave him all. But every "thing shall be brought to light: the mis- "fortunes which she herself had caused in "the imperial family, her incestuous marri- "age with her uncle, and the poison that "put an end to his life; all shall be dis- "closed, all laid open to the world. By "the favour of the gods Britannicus is still "alive: that resource still remains. With "that young prince she would join the "the army: in the camp should be heard "the daughter of Germanicus; Burrhus, "and Seneca, the famous exile, might "present themselves before the prætorian "soldiers; the first with his maimed hand, "and the second, armed with his tropes "and flowers of rhetoric; both worthy "ministers, fit, in their own opinion, to "govern the Roman world." In this strain she raved with vehemence, brandishing

her hands, and pouring out a torrent of invective. She appealed to the deified Claudius; she invoked the manes of the murdered Silani, and of others who perished by her guilt, though now, in return for all, she met with nothing but treachery and ingratitude.

XV. These violent declarations made a deep impression on the mind of Nero. The birth-day of Britannicus, when that prince was to enter on his fifteenth year, was near at hand. This gave rise to a number of reflections. The turbulent spirit of Agrippina, and the character of the prince, filled him with apprehensions. On a late occasion Britannicus had given a specimen of early acuteness, slight, indeed, in itself, but such as disposed the people in his favour. It happened, during the Saturnalian festival (*a*), that, among the diversions usual among young people, the play, "Who shall be king" (*b*), became part of the amusement at court. The lot fell to Nero: he imposed his commands on the company, in no instance aiming at ridicule or inconvenience, till he came to

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Britannicus. He ordered the young prince to stand in the middle of the room, and sing a song to the company. By this device he hoped that a stripling, not yet accustomed even to sober conversation, much less to revelry and the joys of wine, would be exposed to derision. Britannicus performed his part without embarassment. His song (*c*) alluded to his own case, expressing the situation of a prince excluded from the throne of his ancestors. The whole company felt a touch of compassion, and, in the moment of gaiety, when wine and the midnight hour had thrown off all dissimulation, they expressed their feelings without disguise. Nero found that his pleasantry recoiled upon himself. Hatred, from that moment, took possession of his heart. The furious and implacable spirit of Agrippina kept him in a constant alarm. No crime could be alleged against Britannicus, and, by consequence, there was no colour to justify a public execution.

Nero resolved to act by covert stratagem. A preparation of poison was ordered, and Julius Pollio, a tribune of the prætorian

cohorts, was called in as an accomplice. This man had in his custody the famous Locusta, a woman guilty of various crimes, and then under sentence for the practice of administering poison. She was made an instrument in the conspiracy. For some time before, care had been taken to admit none to the presence of Britannicus, but such as had long since renounced every principle of honour and of virtue. The first potion was given to Britannicus by his tutors; but being weak, or injudiciously qualified, it passed without effect. The slow progress of guilt did not suit the genius of Nero. He threatened the tribune, and was on the point of ordering the sorceress to be put to death. He railed at both as two cowards in vice, who wished to save appearances, and concert a defence for themselves, while they left a dreadful interval, big with fear and danger. To appease his wrath, they promised to prepare a dose as sure and deadly as the assassin's knife. In a room adjoining to the apartment of the emperor they mixed a draught, compounded of ingredients, whose sure and rapid quality they had already experienced.

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XVI. According to the custom at that time established at court, the children of the imperial family dined, in a sitting posture, with the nobility of their own age, in sight of their relations, at a table set apart, and served with due frugality. Whenever Britannicus was, in this manner, seated at his meal, it was a settled rule that an attendant should taste his food and liquor. To preserve this custom, and prevent detection by the death of both, an innocent beverage, without any infusion that could hurt, was tried by the proper officer, and presented to the prince. He found it too hot, and returned it. Cold water, in which the poison had been mixed, was immediately poured into the cup. Britannicus drank freely; the effect was violent, and, in an instant, it seized the powers of life: his limbs were palsied, his breath was suppressed, and his utterance failed. The company were thrown into consternation. Some rushed out of the room, while others, who had more discernment, staid, but in astonishment, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who lay stretched at ease on his couch, with an air of innocence, and without emo-

tion. He contented himself with calmly saying, "This is one of the epileptic fits "to which Britannicus has been subject "from his infancy. The disorder will go "off, and he will soon recover his senses." Agrippina was struck with horror. She endeavoured to suppress her feelings; but the inward emotions were too strong; they spoke in every feature, plainly shewing that she was as innocent as Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. By this horrible act the emperor's mother saw all her hopes at once cut off, and from so daring a step, she could even then foresee that her son would wade in blood, and add to his crimes the horror of parricide. Octavia, though still of tender years, had seen enough of courts to teach her the policy of smothering her grief, her tenderness, and every sentiment of the heart. In this manner the scene of distraction ended, and the pleasures of the table were renewed.

XVII. One and the same night saw the murder of Britannicus and his funeral. Both were preconcerted. Without expence, or any kind of pomp, the prince's remains

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were interred in the Field of Mars, under a shower of rain, which fell with such violence, that it passed with the multitude as the sure forerunner of divine vengeance on the authors of so foul a deed; a deed, notwithstanding all its horrors, which many were inclined to think of with less severity, when they considered that, from the earliest times, a spirit of jealousy always subsisted between brothers, and that the nature of sovereign power is such as not to endure a rival. From the writers of that period there is reason to conclude, that Nero, on various occasions, had taken advantage of the tender years of Britannicus, and offered vile indignities to his person. If the anecdote be founded in truth, the death, which delivered a descendant of the Claudian line from foul disgrace, cannot be deemed premature or cruel. The prince, it is true, died in the hour of hospitality, without warning, without time allowed to his sister to take the last farewell; and his mortal enemy saw him in the pangs of death. After all his sufferings, the poisoned cup was mercy. The hurry with which the funeral was performed, was justified by

Nero in a proclamation, stating the practice of the ancient Romans, who ordained with wisdom, "That the bodies of such as "died in the prime of life should, as soon "as possible, be removed from the public "eye, without waiting for funeral orations, "and the slow parade of pomp and cere-"mony. For himself, deprived as he was "of the assistance of a brother, he de-"pended altogether on the affections of "the people, in full persuasion, that the "senate, and all orders of men, would exert "their best endeavours to support a prince, "who now remained the only branch of a "family born to rule the empire of the "world." After this public declaration, his next care was, by large donations, to secure in his interest all his most powerful friends.

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XVIII. The conduct of such as were most distinguished by the munificence of the emperor, did not pass uncensured. They were men who professed integrity, and yet did not blush to take palaces (*a*), country-seats, and extensive lands, all equally willing to have share of the plun-

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der. By their apologists it was argued, that they could not avoid submitting to the will of a prince, who knew the horror of his crimes, and hoped by his liberality to soften the public resentment. Agrippina continued implacable. Indignation like hers was not to be appeased by presents. She cherished Octavia with the tenderest regard; she had frequent meetings with the leaders of her party; and, with more than her natural avarice, she collected money in all quarters; she courted the tribunes and centurions; and to the thin nobility, which then remained, she paid every mark of respect, dwelling with pleasure on their names, applauding their virtues, with a view to strengthen her interest by a coalition of the first men in Rome. Nero was apprised of all that passed. By his orders the sentinels who guarded her gates (as had been done in the time of Claudius, and since his decease) were all withdrawn. The German soldiers, who had been added by way of doing honour to the emperor's mother, were likewise dismissed from her service. Nor did the matter rest here. To retrench the number of her adherents and

visitors, Nero resolved to hold a separate court. He assigned to his mother the mansion formerly occupied by Antonia. He visited her in her new situation, but his visits were a state farce: he went with a train of attendants, and, after a short salute, took his leave with cold civility.

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XIX. In the mass of human affairs there is nothing so vain and transitory as the fancied pre-eminence which depends on popular opinion, without a solid foundation to support it. Of this truth Agrippina is a melancholy proof. Her house was deserted; no friend to comfort her; no courtier to flutter at her levee; and none to visit her, except a few women who frequented her house, perhaps with a good intention, or, more probably, with the little motives of female triumph. In the number was Junia Silana, formerly divorced, as has been mentioned, from Caius Silius, at the instigation of Messalina. Since that time, she became the intimate friend of Agrippina; by her birth illustrious, distinguished by her beauty, and not less so by her lascivious conduct. Her friendship for Agrip-

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pina, soured afterwards by contentions between themselves, turned to bitter hatred. A treaty of marriage between Silana and Sextius Africanus, a citizen of illustrious rank, was rendered abortive by the ill offices of Agrippina. She told the lover, that his mistress, though no longer in the prime of life, was of a dissolute character, and still abandoned to her vicious pleasures. In this act of hostility love had no kind of share. Agrippina had not so much as a wish for the person of Africanus; but Silana enjoyed large possessions, and being a widow without children, her whole fortune might devolve to the husband.

Silana, from that moment, was stung with resentment. The season for revenge she thought was now arrived, and, for that purpose, she employed Iturius and Calvisius, two of her creatures, to frame an accusation against Agrippina, not on the ground of the old and threadbare story about her grief for Britannicus, and her zeal for Octavia; but with a deeper intent, that revenge might have its full blow. The head of the accusation was, That Agrippina had

conspired with Rubellius Plautus, a descendant of Augustus, by the maternal line in the same degree as Nero, to bring about a revolution, and, in that event, to marry the usurper, and once more invade the commonwealth. With this charge, drawn up in form, Iturius and Calvisius sought Atimetus, one of the freedmen of Domitia, the emperor's aunt. A fitter person could not be chosen; he knew the enmity that subsisted between his mistress and Agrippina, and, for that reason, listened eagerly to the information. Having heard the particulars, he employed Paris the comedian (who had likewise received his freedom from Domitia), and, by him, conveyed the whisper to the emperor, with circumstances of aggravation.

XX. The night was far advanced, and Nero passed the time in riot and gay carousal, when Paris entered the apartment. In the prince's parties he had always been a pimp of pleasure; but now, a messenger of ill news, he appeared with an air of dejection. He laid open the particulars of the charge. Nero heard him with dismay;

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and terror. In the first agitations of his mind he resolved to dispatch his mother, and Plautus, her accomplice. Burrhus was no longer to command the prætorian bands: he was the creature of Agrippina, raised at first by her influence, and in his heart a secret friend to her and her interest. If we may credit Fabius Rusticus, a commission was actually made out, and sent to Cæcina Tuscus; but recalled, at the request of Seneca, who interposed to save his friend from disgrace. According to Cluvius and Pliny, the honour of Burrhus was never called in question. To say the truth, the authority of Fabius Rusticus is not free from suspicion. He flourished under the protection of Seneca, and the gratitude of the writer embraces every opportunity to adorn the character of his patron.

The historical evidence is fairly before the reader, agreeably to the design of this work, which professes to depend, at all times, on the testimony of authors, when they agree among themselves; and, when they differ, to state the points in dispute,

with the reasons on each side. Nero was distracted with doubt and fear. In the tumult of his thoughts, he determined to dispatch his mother without delay. Nor was his fury to be restrained till Burrhus pledged himself, if the charge was verified, to see execution done upon her; but to be heard in answer to the accusation, he said, was the right of the meanest person, much more so of a mother. In the present case, no charge was made in form; no prosecutor appeared; the whole was nothing but the whisper of a busy tale-bearer, who brought intelligence from the house of an enemy; but the time chosen for the discovery makes the whole improbable. Paris the informer came in the dead of night; and after many hours spent in carousing, what can be expected, but confusion, ignorance, and fatal temerity?

XXI. Nero was pacified by this reasoning. At the dawn of day, proper persons were sent to Agrippina, to inform her of the allegations against her, and to hear her defence. The commission was executed by Burrhus in the presence of Seneca,

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and a number of freedmen, who were sent to watch the whole proceeding. Burrhus stated the charge; he named the informers, and, in a tone of severity, enforced every circumstance. Agrippina heard him undismayed, and with the pride and spirit of her character, replied as follows: "That "Silana, who has never known the labours "of child-bed, should be a stranger to the "affections of a mother, cannot be matter "of surprise. A woman of profligate man-"ners may change her adulterers, but a "mother cannot renounce her children. "If Iturius and Calvisius, two bankrupts in "fame as well as fortune, have sold them-"selves to an old woman, is it of course "that I must be guilty of a crime "which they have fabricated? And must "my son, at the instigation of two such "miscreants, commit a parricide? Let "Domitia shew her kindness to my son; "let her vie with tenderness like mine, and "I will forgive her malice; I will even "thank her for it. But she is in league with "Atimetus, who is known to be her para-"mour: Paris, the stage-player, lends "his aid: the talents that figured in the

" theatre, he hopes, will be able to plan a BOOK XIII.
" real tragedy.

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" At the time when my cares were busy
" to make Nero the adopted son of Clau-
" dius; to invest him with proconsular dig-
" nity, and declare him consul elect; when
" I was labouring to open to my son the
" road to empire, where was Domitia then?
" Her ponds and lakes at Baiæ engrossed
" all her attention. Stand forth the man,
" who can prove that I tampered with the
" city-guards; that I seduced the pro-
" vinces from their allegiance, or endea-
" voured to corrupt the slaves and freed-
" men of the emperor. Had Britannicus
" obtained the imperial dignity, could I
" have hoped to live in safety? And if Ru-
" bellius Plautus, or any other person, had
" seized the reins of government, can it be
" supposed that my enemies would not
" have seized their opportunity to exhibit
" their charge, not for intemperate words,
" thrown out in the warmth of passion, the
" effusion of a mother's jealousy, but for
" real crimes, and those of so deep a
" dye, that no man can forgive them,

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"except a son, for whom they were committed." Such was the language of Agrippina. The warmth and energy with which she delivered herself, made an impression on all who heard her. They endeavoured to soften affliction, and mitigate the violence of her feelings. She demanded an interview with her son, and the meeting was granted. In his presence she scorned to enter into a vindication of herself. To answer the charge might betray too much diffidence: nor did she dwell on the services which she had rendered to her son; that were to tax him with ingratitude. Her object was to punish her accusers, and reward her friends. She succeeded in both.

XXII. The superintendance of corn and grain was granted to Fænius Rufus. The public spectacles, then intended by the emperor, were committed to the care of Arruntius Stella. The province of Ægypt was assigned to Caius Balbillus (*a*), and that of Syria to Publius Anteius. But the last was the bubble of promises, and never suffered to proceed to his government.

Silana was sent into exile. Calvisius and Iturius (*b*) shared the same fate. Atimetus was punished with death. Paris, the comedian, was of too much consequence: he had the art of ministering to the pleasures of the prince: his vices saved him. Rubellius Plautus was, for the present, passed by in silence.

XXIII. Soon after this transaction, Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a conspiracy to raise Cornelius Sylla to the imperial seat, in consideration of his illustrious birth, and the affinity which he bore to Claudius, being, by his marriage with Antonia, the son-in-law of that emperor. In this business, a man of the name of Pætus was the prosecutor; a busy pragmatical fellow, notorious for harassing his fellow-citizens with confiscations to the treasury, and on the present occasion a manifest impostor. To find Pallas innocent would not have been unpleasant to the fathers, if the arrogance of the man had not given disgust to all. In the course of the trial, some of his freedmen being mentioned as accomplices in the plot, he

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thought proper to answer, "That among "his domestics he never condescended to "speak: he signified his pleasure by a nod, "or a motion of his hand. If the business "required special directions, he committed "his mind to paper, unwilling to mix in "discourse with people so much beneath "his notice." Burrhus, though involved in the prosecution, took his seat on the bench with the judges, and pronounced his opinion. Pætus was condemned to banishment, and all his papers, which he preserved as documents to be used in the revival of treasury suits, were committed to the flames.

XXIV. Towards the close of the year, the custom of having a cohort on duty, at the exhibition of the public spectacles, was entirely laid aside. By this measure the people were amused with a shew of liberty; and the soldiers being thus removed from the licentiousness of the theatre, were no longer in danger of tainting the discipline of the army with the vices of the city. From this experiment it was to be further seen, whether the populace,

freed from the control of the military, would be observant of decency and good order. The temples of Jupiter and Minerva being struck with lightning, the emperor, by the advice of the soothsayers, ordered a solemn lustration to purify the city. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 808. A. D. 55.

XXV. The consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Scipio was remarkable for the tranquillity that prevailed in all parts of the empire, and the corruption of manners that disgraced the city of Rome. Of all the worst enormities Nero was the author. In the garb of a slave, he roved through the streets, visited the brothels, and rambled through all by-places, attended by a band of rioters, who seized the wares and merchandize exposed to sale, and offered violence to all that fell in their way. In these frolics, Nero was so little suspected to be a party, that he was roughly handled in several frays. He received wounds on some occasions, and his face was disfigured with a scar. It was not long, however, before it transpired that the emperor was become a night-brawler. The mischief from that moment grew more A. U. C. 809. A. D. 56.

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alarming. Men of rank were insulted, and women of the first condition suffered gross indignities. The example of the prince brought midnight riots into fashion. Private persons took their opportunity, with a band of loose companions, to annoy the public streets. Every quarter was filled with tumult and disorder, insomuch that Rome, at night, resembled a city taken by storm. In one of these wild adventures, Julius Montanus, of senatorian rank, but not yet advanced to the magistracy, happened to encounter the emperor and his party. Being attacked with force, he made a resolute defence; and finding, afterwards, that Nero was the person whom he discomfited in the fray, he endeavoured to soften resentment by apologies for his behaviour: but the excuse was considered as a reflection on the prince, and Montanus was compelled to die.

Nero persisted in this course of debauchery, and, for the safety of his person, took with him a party of soldiers, and a gang of gladiators. These men, in slight and accidental skirmishes, kept aloof from

the fray; but if warm and active spirits made a stout resistance, they became parties in the quarrel, and cut their way sword in hand. The theatre, at the same time, was a scene of uproar and violent contention. The partisans of the players waged a kind of civil war. Nero encouraged them, not only with impunity, but with ample rewards. He was often a secret spectator of the tumult; and, at length, did not blush to appear in the face of the public. These disturbances were so frequent, that, from a people divided into factions, there was reason to apprehend some dreadful convulsion: the only remedy left, was to banish the players out of Italy, and once more make the soldiers mount guard at the theatre.

XXVI. About this time, the enfranchised slaves, by the insolence of their behaviour to the patrons who had given them their freedom, provoked a debate in the senate. It was proposed to pass a law, empowering the patron to reclaim his right over such as made an improper use of their liberty. The fathers were willing to adopt

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the measure, but the consuls did not choose to put the question before due notice was given to the emperor. They reported the case, and the substance of the debate, requesting to know whether the prince would, of his own authority, enact a law that had but few to oppose it. In support of the motion, it had been argued, that the freedmen were leagued in a faction against their patrons, and had the insolence to think them answerable for their conduct in the senate. They went so far as to threaten violence to their persons; they raised their hands against their benefactors, and, with audacious contumacy, presumed to hinder them from seeking redress in due course of law. The patron, it is true, has peculiar privileges: but in what do they consist? In the empty power of banishing the freedman, who proves unworthy of the favour bestowed upon him, to the distance of twenty miles from Rome; that is, to send him, by way of punishment, to the delightful plains of Campania. In every other point of view, the freedman is on a level with the highest citizen. He enjoys equal privileges. It were, therefore, a

prudent measure to arm the patron with coercive authority, effectual for the purpose, and of force not to be eluded. The manumitted slave should "be taught to "prolong the enjoyment of his liberty by "the same behaviour that obtained it at "first. Nor could this be deemed an oppressive law; since, as often as the freedmen shewed no sense of duty or subordination, to reduce them to their primitive "servitude, would be the soundest policy. "When gratitude has no effect, coercion "is the proper remedy."

XXVII. In answer to this reasoning, it was contended by the opposite party, "That, in all cases of partial mischief, "punishment should fall on the guilty only. "For the delinquency of a few, the rights "of all ought not to be taken away. The "freedmen were a large and numerous "body. From them the number of the "tribes was completed, the magistrates "were supplied with inferior officers, the "sacerdotal orders with assistants, and the "prætorian cohorts with recruits. Many "of the Roman knights, and even the

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" senators had no other origin. Deduct " the men whose fathers were enfranchised, " and the number of freeborn citizens will " dwindle into nothing. When the ranks " of society were established at Rome, it " was the wisdom of the old republic to " make liberty the common right of all, " not the prerogative of a few. The power " of conferring freedom was also regulated, " and two different modes (*a*) were esta- " blished, to the end that the patron, if he " saw reason for it, might either revoke his " grant, or confirm it by additional bounty. " The man enfranchised, without proper " ceremonies before the prætor, was liable " to be claimed again by his master. But " it is the business of the patron to consi- " der well the character of his slave; till " he knows the merit of the man, let him " withhold his generosity; but when free- " dom is fairly bestowed, there ought to " be no resumption of the grant." To this last opinion Nero acceded. He signified his pleasure to the senate, that, in all causes between the patron and his freedman, they should decide on the particular circumstances of the case, without dero-

gating from the rights of the body at large. Soon after this regulation, Paris, who had received his freedom from Domitia, the emperor's aunt, was removed from her domestic train, and declared to be a freeborn citizen (*b*). The colour of law was given to this proceeding; but the judgment was known to be dictated by the prince, and the infamy, therefore, was all his own.

XXVIII. THERE remained, notwithstanding, even at this juncture, an image of ancient liberty. A proof of this occurred in a contest that took place between Vibullius, the prætor, and Antistius, tribune of the people. Certain partisans of the players had been, for their tumultuous behaviour, committed to jail by the prætor. The tribune interposed his authority, and released the prisoners. This conduct was condemned by the senate, as extrajudicial and illegal. A decree passed, ordaining that the tribunes should not presume to counteract the jurisdiction of the prætor, or the consuls; nor to summon to their own tribunal men, who resided in different parts of Italy, and were amenable to the

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municipal laws of the colony. It was further settled, on the motion of Lucius Piso, consul elect, that it should not be competent to the tribunes to sit in judgment at their own houses; and that the fines, imposed by their authority, should not be entered by the quæstor in the registers of the treasury, before the end of four months from the day of the sentence, that, in the mean time, the party aggrieved might have the benefit of an appeal to the consuls. The jurisdiction of the ædiles, patrician as well as plebeian, was defined and limited; the sureties which they might demand were stated with precision; and the penalties to be imposed by their authority were reduced to a certain sum. In consequence of these regulations, Helvidius Priscus, tribune of the people, seized the opportunity to proceed against Obultronius Sabinus, a quæstor of the treasury. He charged him with harassing the poor with unreasonable confiscations, and unmercifully seizing their effects to be sold by auction. To redress the grievance, Nero removed the register out of the hands of the quæstor, and left that business to the

care of præfects commissioned for the purpose.

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XXIX. In this department of the treasury various changes had been made, but no settled form (*a*) was established. In the reign of Augustus, the prefects of the treasury were chosen by the senate; but there being reason to suspect that intrigue and private views had too much influence, those officers were drawn by lot out of the list of the prætors. This mode was soon found to be defective. Chance decided, and too often wandered to men unqualified for the employment. Claudius restored the quæstors, and, to encourage them to act with vigour, promised to place them above the necessity of soliciting the suffrages of the people, and, by his own authority, to raise them to the higher magistracies. But the quæstorship being the first civil office that men could undertake, maturity of understanding was not to be expected. Nero, for that reason, chose from the prætorian rank, a set of new commissioners of known experience and tried ability.

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XXX. During the same consulship, Vipsanius Lænas was found guilty of rapacity in his government of Sardinia. Cestius Proculus was prosecuted for extortion; but his accusers giving up the point, he was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, who had the command of the fleet at Ravenna, and by his profligate manners and various vices harassed the people in that part of Italy, with a degree of insolence not to be endured by the most abject nation, was brought to his trial on a charge of rapine and oppression. To prevent the final sentence, he dispatched himself by poison. About the same time Caninius Rebilus, a man distinguished by his knowledge of the laws, and his ample riches, determined to deliver himself from the miseries of old age and a broken constitution. He opened a vein, and bled to death. The event was matter of surprise to all. The fortitude, that could voluntarily rush on death, was not expected from a man softened by voluptuous enjoyments, and infamous for his effeminate manners. Lucius Volusius, who died in the same year, left a very different

character. He had lived, in splendid affluence, to the age of ninety-three, esteemed for the honest arts by which he acquired immense wealth, under a succession of despotic emperors, yet never exposed to danger. He found the art of being rich and virtuous with impunity. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 809. A. D. 56.

XXXI. NERO, with Lucius Piso for his colleague, entered on his second consulship. In this year we look in vain for transactions worthy of the historian's pen. The vast foundation of a new amphitheatre (*a*), built by Nero in the Field of Mars, and the massy timbers employed in that magnificent structure, might swell a volume; but descriptions of that kind may be left to grace the pages of a city-journal. The dignity of the Roman people requires that these annals should not descend to a detail so minute and uninteresting. It will be proper to mention here, that Capua and Nuceria, two Roman colonies, were augmented by a body of veterans transplanted to those places. A largess of two hundred small sesterces to each man was distributed to the populace, and, to support the credit A. U. C. 810. A. D. 57.

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of the state, the sum of four hundred thousand great sesterces was deposited in the treasury. The twenty-fifth penny (*b*), imposed as a tax on the purchase of slaves, was remitted, with an appearance of moderation, but, in fact, without any solid advantage to the public. The payment of the duty was only shifted to the vendor, and he, to indemnify himself, raised his price on the purchaser. The emperor issued a proclamation forbidding the magistrates and imperial procurators to exhibit, in any of the provinces, a show of gladiators, wild beasts, or any other public spectacle. The practice of amusing the people with grand exhibitions had been as sore a grievance as even the grasping hand of avarice. The governors plundered the people, and by displays of magnificence hoped to disguise, or, in some degree, to make atonement for their crimes.

XXXII. A DECREE passed the senate to protect, by additional terrors of law, the life of the patron from the malice of his slaves. With this view, it was enacted, that, in the case of a master slain by his do-

mestics, execution should be done, not only on such as remained in a state of actual servitude, but likewise on all, who, by the will of the deceased, obtained their freedom, but continued to live under his roof at the time when the murder was committed. Lucius Varius, who had been degraded for rapacious avarice, was restored to his consular rank, and his seat in the senate. Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illustrious birth, and the wife of Plautius (*a*), who, on his return from Britain, entered the city with the pomp of an ovation, was accused of embracing the rites of a foreign superstition (*b*). The matter was referred to the jurisdiction of her husband. Plautius, in conformity to ancient usage, called together a number of her relations, and, in their presence, sat in judgment on the conduct of his wife. He pronounced her innocent. She lived to a great age, in one continued train of affliction. From the time when Julia, the daughter of Drusus, was brought to a tragical end by the wicked arts of Messalina (*c*), she never laid aside her mourning weeds, but pined in grief during a space of forty years, in-

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consolable for the loss of her friend. During the reign of Claudius nothing could alleviate her sorrow, nor was her perseverance imputed to her as a crime: in the end, it was the glory of her character.

XXXIII. This year produced a number of criminal accusations. Publius Celer was prosecuted by the province of Asia. The weight of evidence pressed so hard, that Nero, unable to acquit him, drew the cause into a tedious length. During that state of suspense, the criminal died of old age. Celer, the reader will remember, was an instrument in the murder of Silanus (*a*), the proconsul. The magnitude of his guilt on that occasion so far surpassed the rest of his flagitious deeds, that nothing else was deemed worthy of notice. The enormity of one atrocious crime skreened him from punishment.

The Cilicians demanded justice against Cossutianus Capito, a man of an abandoned character, who at Rome had set the laws at defiance, and thought, that, with equal impunity, he might commit the same ex-

cesses in the government of his province. The prosecution was carried on with such unremitting vigour, that he abandoned his defence. He was condemned to make restitution. A suit of the same nature was commenced against Eprius Marcellus by the people of Lycia, but with different success. A powerful faction combined to support him. The consequence was, that some of the prosecutors were banished for a conspiracy against an innocent man.

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XXXIV. NERO entered on his third consulship, having for his colleague Valerius Messala, the great grandson of Corvinus Messala (*a*), the celebrated orator, who, in the memory of a few surviving old men, had been associated in the consulship with Augustus, the great grandfather of Nero's mother, Agrippina. The prince granted to his colleague an annual pension of fifteen hundred thousand sesterces, and with that income Messala, who had fallen into blameless poverty, was able to support the dignity of his rank and character. Yearly stipends were also granted to Aure-

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lius Cotta, and Haterius Antoninus, though they were both, by dissipation, the authors of their own distress.

In the beginning of this year, the war between the Romans and the Parthians, hitherto slow in its operations, grew warm and active on both sides. The possession of Armenia was the point still in dispute. Vologeses saw with indignation the crown, which he had settled on his brother Tiridates, withheld by force, and, to let him receive it as the gift of a foreign power, was a degree of humiliation to which his pride could not submit. On the other hand, to recover the conquests formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey, was in Corbulo's judgment worthy of the Roman name. The Armenians balanced between the powers at war, and in their turn invited each. Their natural bias inclined them to the Parthians. Neighbours by situation, congenial in their manners, and by frequent intermarriages closely allied, they were willing to favour the enemies of Rome, and even inclined to submit to a Parthian

master. Inured by habit to a state of servitude, they neither understood, nor wished for civil liberty.

XXXV. Corbulo had to struggle with the slothful disposition of his army; a mischief more embarrassing than the wily arts of the enemy. The legions from Syria joined his camp, but so enervated by the languor of peace, that they could scarce support the labours of a campaign. It is certain, that there were amongst them veterans who had seen no service; who had never been on duty at a midnight post; who never mounted guard, and were such total strangers to a fosse and a palisade, that they gazed at both as at a novelty. They had served the term prescribed in garrison-towns, without helmets, and without breast-plates, spruce and trim in their attire, by profession soldiers, yet thinking of nothing but the means of enriching themselves. Having dismissed all such as were by age and infirmity rendered unfit for the service, Corbulo ordered new levies to be made in Galatia and Cappadocia. To these he added a legion from Germany,

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with some troops of horse, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. Thus reinforced, his army kept the field, though the frost was so intense, that, without digging through the ice, it was impossible to pitch their tents. By the inclemency of the season many lost the use of their limbs, and it often happened that the sentinel died on his post. The case of one soldier deserves to be mentioned. He was employed in carrying a load of wood: his hands, nipt by the frost, and cleaving to the faggot, dropt from his arms, and fell to the ground.

The general, during the severity of the weather, gave an example of strenuous exertion; he was busy in every quarter, thinly clad, his head uncovered, in the ranks, at the works, commending the brave, relieving the weak, and by his own active vigour exciting the emulation of the men. But the rigour of the season, and the hardship of the service, were more than the soldiers could endure. The army suffered by desertion. This required an immediate remedy. The practice of lenity towards the

first or second offence, which often prevailed in other armies, would have been attended with dangerous consequences. He who quitted his colours suffered death as soon as taken; and this severity proved more salutary than weak compassion. The number of deserters, from that time, fell short of what happens in other camps, where too much indulgence is the practice.

XXXVI. Having resolved to wait the return of spring, Corbulo kept his men within their entrenchments during the rest of the winter. The auxiliary cohorts were stationed at proper posts, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, who had served as principal centurion. The orders given to this officer were, that the advanced posts should by no means hazard an engagement. Orphitus sent to inform the general, that the Barbarians spread themselves round the country with so little caution, that advantage might be taken of their imprudence. Corbulo renewed his orders, that the troops should keep within the lines, and wait for a reinforcement. Orphitus paid no regard to the command of his su-

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perior officer. A few troops of horse, from the adjacent castles, came up to join him, and, through inexperience, demanded to be led against the enemy. Orphitus risked a battle, and was totally routed. The forces posted near at hand, whose duty it was to march to the assistance of the broken ranks, fled in confusion to their entrenchments. Corbulo no sooner received intelligence of his defeat, than he resolved to pass the severest censure on the disobedience of his officer. He ordered him, his subalterns, and his men, to march out of the entrenchments (*a*), and there left them in disgrace, till, at the intercession of the whole army, he gave them leave to return within the lines.

XXXVII. Meanwhile Tiridates, at the head of his vassals and followers, with a strong reinforcement sent by his brother Vologeses, invaded Armenia, not, as before, by sudden incursions, but with open hostility. Wherever the people were in the interests of Rome, he laid waste their lands; if an armed force advanced against him, he shifted his quarters, and, by the velo-

city of his flight, eluded the attack. He moved with rapidity from place to place, and, by the terror of a wild and desultory war, more than by the success of his arms, kept the country in a constant alarm. Corbulo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring him to an engagement. He determined, therefore, to adopt the plan of the enemy, and, for that purpose, spread his forces round the country, under the conduct of his lieutenants and other subordinate officers. At the same time he caused a diversion to be made by Antiochus, king of Syria, in the provinces of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions. Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was willing, in this juncture, to co-operate with the Roman arms. He had put his son Rhadamistus to death for imputed treason, and, to make terms with Rome, while, in fact, he gratified his rooted aversion to the Armenians, he pretended to enter into the war with the zeal and ardour of a friend to the cause. The Isichians (*a*) also declared for Corbulo. That people were now, for the first time, the allies of Rome. They made incursions into the wild and desert tracts of Armenia,

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and by a desultory rambling war distracted the operations of the enemy.

Tiridates, finding himself counteracted on every side, sent ambassadors to expostulate, as well in the name of the Parthians, as for himself. "After hostages so lately "delivered, and a renewal of friendship, "that promised mutual advantages, why "was his expulsion from the kingdom of "Armenia the fixed, the avowed intention "of the Roman army? If Vologeses was "not as yet in motion with the whole "strength of his kingdom, it was because "he wished to prevail by the justice of his "cause, and not by force of arms. If the "sword must be drawn, the event would "shew that the Arsacides had not forgot "that warlike spirit which, on former oc-"casions, had been fatal to the Roman "name." Corbulo heard this magnificent language; but, being informed, by sure intelligence, that the revolt of the Hyrcanians (*b*) found employment for Vologeses, he returned for answer, that the wisest measure Tiridates could pursue, would be to address himself in a suppliant style to the

emperor of Rome. The kingdom of Armenia, settled on a solid basis, might be his without the effusion of blood, and the havoc of a destructive war, if to distant and chimerical hopes he preferred moderate measures and present security.

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XXXVIII. From this time the business fell into a train of negociation. Frequent dispatches passed between both armies; but no progress being made towards a conclusive treaty, it was at length agreed that, at a fixed time and place, the two chiefs should come to an interview. Tiridates gave notice that he should bring with him a guard of a thousand horse: the number which Corbulo might choose for his own person, he did not take upon him to prescribe; all he desired was, that they should come with a pacific disposition, and advance to the congress without their breastplates and their helmets. This stroke of eastern perfidy was not so fine, but even the dullest capacity, not to mention an experienced general, might perceive the latent fraud. The number limited on one side, and to the opposite party left inde-

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finite, carried with it a specious appearance; but the lurking treachery was too apparent. The Parthian cavalry excelled in the dexterity of managing the bow and arrow; and, without defensive armour, what would be the use of superior numbers? Aware of the design, but choosing to disguise his sentiments, Corbulo calmly answered, that the business being of a public nature, the discussion of it ought to be in the presence of both armies. For the convention he appointed a place inclosed on one side by a soft acclivity of gently rising hills, where the infantry might be posted to advantage, with a vale beneath, stretching to an extent that gave ample space for the cavalry. On the stated day Corbulo advanced to the meeting, with his forces in regular order. In the wings were stationed the allies and the auxiliaries sent by the kings in friendship with Rome. The sixth legion formed the centre, strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men from the third legion, drafted in the night from the neighbouring camp. Being embodied under one eagle, they presented the appearance of a single legion. To-

wards the close of day, Tiridates occupied a distant ground, visible indeed, but never within hearing. Not being able to obtain a conference, the Roman general ordered his men to file off to their respective quarters.

XXXIX. Tiridates left the field with precipitation, alarmed at the various movements of the Roman army, and fearing the danger of an ambuscade, or, perhaps, intending to cut off the supplies of provisions then on the way from the city of Trebizonde (*a*) and the Pontic sea. But the supplies were conveyed over the mountains, where a chain of posts was formed, to secure the passes. A slow and lingering war was now to be apprehended: to bring it to a speedy issue, and compel the Armenians to act on the defensive, Corbulo resolved to level their castles to the ground. The strongest fort in that quarter was known by the name of Volandum (*b*): the demolition of that place he reserved for himself, and against the towns of inferior note he sent Cornelius Flaccus, a lieutenant-general, and Insteius Capito, præfect of

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the camp. Having reconnoitred the works, and prepared for the assault, he harangued his men in effect as follows: "You have "now to do with a dastardly and fugitive "enemy; a vagabond race, always roving "in prædatory bands, betraying at once "their unwarlike spirit and their perfidy; "impatient of peace, and cowards in war. "The time is arrived, when the whole "nation may be exterminated: by one "brave exploit you may gain both fame "and booty to reward your valour." Having thus inflamed the spirit of his men, he arranged them in four divisions; one close embodied under their shields, forming a military shell, to sap the foundation of the ramparts; a second party advanced with ladders to scale the walls; a third with their warlike engines threw into the place a shower of darts and missive fire; while the slingers and archers, posted at a convenient distance, discharged a volley of metal and huge massy stones.

To keep the enemy employed in every quarter, the attack was made on all sides at once. In less than four hours the Bar-

barians were driven from their stations; the ramparts were left defenceless, the gates were forced, and the works taken by scalade. A dreadful slaughter followed. All who were capable of carrying arms were put to the sword. On the part of the Romans only one man was killed; the number of wounded was inconsiderable. The women and children were sold to slavery: the rest was left to be plundered by the soldiers. The operations of Flaccus and Capito were attended with equal success. In one day three castles were taken by storm. A general panic overspread the country. From motives of fear or treachery the inhabitants surrendered at discretion. Encouraged by these prosperous events, Corbulo was now resolved to lay siege in form to Artaxata (*c*), the capital of the kingdom. He did not, however, think it advisable to march the nearest way. The river Araxes (*d*) washes the walls of the city: the legions would have found it necessary to construct the necessary bridges in sight of the enemy, exposed to their darts and missive weapons. They took a wider circuit, and forded

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over where the current was broad and shallow.

XL. TIRIDATES was thrown into the utmost distress. Shame and fear took possession of him by turns. If he suffered a blockade to be formed, his weak condition would be too apparent; if he attempted to raise the siege, his cavalry might be surrounded in the narrow defiles. He resolved to shew himself towards the close of day in order of battle, and, next morning, either to attack the Romans, or, by a sudden retreat, to draw them into an ambuscade. With this intent he made a sudden movement, and surrounded the legions. The attempt gave no alarm to Corbulo: prepared for all events, he had marshalled his men either for action, or a march. The third legion took post in the right wing; the sixth advanced on the left; and a select detachment from the tenth formed the centre. The baggage was secured between the ranks: a body of a thousand horse brought up the rear, with orders to face the enemy whenever an attack was made, but

never to pursue them. The foot archers, and the rest of the cavalry, were distributed in the wings. The left extended their ranks towards the foot of the hills, in order, if the Barbarians advanced on that side, to hem them in between the front lines and the centre of the army. Tiridates contented himself with vain parade, shifting his ground with celerity, yet never within the throw of a dart, advancing, retreating, and, by every stratagem, trying to make the Romans open their ranks, and leave themselves liable to be attacked in scattered parties. His efforts were without effect: one officer, who commanded a troop of horse, advanced from his post, and fell under a volley of darts. His temerity restrained the rest of the army. Towards the close of day, Tiridates, seeing his wiles defeated, withdrew with all his forces.

XLI. Corbulo encamped on the spot. Having reason to imagine that Tiridates would throw himself into the city of Artaxata, he debated whether it would not be best, without loss of time, to push for-

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ward by rapid marches, and lay siege to the place. While he remained in suspense, intelligence was brought by the scouts that the prince set off at full speed towards some distant region, but whether to Media or Albania, was uncertain. He resolved, therefore, to wait the return of day, and in the mean time dispatched the light armed cohorts, with orders to invest the city, and begin their attack at a proper distance. The inhabitants threw open their gates, and surrendered at discretion. Their lives were saved, but the town was reduced to ashes. No other measure could be adopted; the walls were of wide extent, and a sufficient garrison could not be spared, at a time when it was necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and if the city were left unhurt, the advantage, as well as glory of the conquest, would be lost. To these reasons was added an extraordinary appearance in the heavens. It happened that the sun-beams played with brilliant lustre on the adjacent country, making the whole circumference a scene of splendour, while the precinct of the town was covered with the darkest gloom, at intervals ren-

dered still more awful by flashes of lightning, that served to shew the impending horror. This phænomenon was believed to be the wrath of the gods denouncing the destruction of the city.

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For these transactions Nero was saluted IMPERATOR. The senate decreed a solemn thanksgiving. Statues and triumphal arches were erected, and the prince was declared perpetual consul. The day on which the victory was gained, and also that on which the news arrived at Rome, and the report was made to the senate, were by a decree to be observed as annual festivals. Many other votes were passed with the same spirit of adulation, all in their tendency so excessive, that Caius Cassius, who had concurred with every motion, observed at last, that if, for the benignity of the gods to the Roman people, due thanks were to be voted, acts of religion would engross the whole year; and, therefore, care should be taken to fix the days of devotion at proper intervals, that they might not encroach too much on the business of civil life.

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XLII. About this time a man who had suffered various revolutions of fortune, and by his vices had brought on himself the public detestation, was cited to answer a charge exhibited against him before the senate. He was condemned, but not without fixing a stain on the character of Seneca. Suillius (*a*) was the person: in the reign of Claudius he had been the scourge and terror of his fellow-citizens; a venal orator, and an informer by profession. In the late changes of government he had been much reduced, but not low enough to gratify the resentment of his enemies. His spirit was still unconquered. Rather than descend to humble supplications, he preferred the character of a convicted malefactor. To come at this man, a late decree of the senate, reviving the pains and penalties of the Cincian law (*b*) against such advocates as received a price for their eloquence, was thought to have been framed by the advice of Seneca. Suillius exclaimed against the proceeding. At his time of life he had little to fear. To the natural ferocity of his temper he now added a contempt of danger.

He poured out a torrent of invective, and in particular railed with acrimony against Seneca. "The philosopher," he said, "was an enemy to the friends of "Claudius. He had been banished by "that emperor, and the disgrace was not "inflicted without just reason. He is now "grown old in the pursuit of frivolous li-"terature, a vain retailer of rhetoric to raw "and inexperienced boys. He beholds "with an eye of envy all, who, in the "defence of their fellow-citizens, exert a "pure, a sound, a manly eloquence. That "Suillius lived with reputation in the "service of Germanicus, is a fact well "known. He was quæstor under that "prince, while Seneca corrupted the mo-"rals of his daughter, and dishonoured "the family. If it be a crime to receive "from a client the reward of honest in-"dustry, what shall be said of him, who "steals into the chamber of a princess to "debauch her virtue (c)? By what system "of ethics, and by what rules of philoso-"phy, has this professor warped into the "favour of the emperor, and, in less than "four years, amassed three hundred mil-

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"lion of sesterces? Through the city of "Rome his snares are spread; last wills "and testaments are his quarry; and the "rich, who have no children, are his prey. "By exorbitant usury (*d*) he has over- "whelmed all Italy; the provinces are ex- "hausted, and he is still insatiate. The "wealth of Suillius cannot be counted "great; but it is the fruit of honest in- "dustry. He is now determined to bid "defiance to his enemies, and hazard all "consequences, rather than derogate from "his rank and the glory of his life, by "poorly yielding to a new man; an up- "start in the state; a sudden child of "fortune."

XLIII. By a set of officious tale-bearers, who love to carry intelligence, and inflame it with the addition of their own malevolence, these bitter invectives were conveyed to Seneca. The enemies of Suillius were set to work: they charged him with rapine and peculation during his government in Asia. To substantiate these allegations, twelve months were allowed to the prosecutors: but that put off their venge-

ance to a distant day. To shorten their work, they chose to proceed upon a new charge, without going out of Rome for witnesses. The accusation stated, "That "by a virulent prosecution he had driven "Quintus Pomponius (*a*) into open rebel- "lion; that by his pernicious arts Julia, the "daughter of Drusus, and Poppæa Sabina, "were forced to put a period to their "lives; that Valerius Asiaticus, Lusius "Saturninus, and Cornelius Lupus, with a "long list of Roman knights, were all cut "off by his villany; and, in short, every "act of cruelty in the reign of Claudius "was imputed to him." To these charges Suillius answered, That he acted always under the immediate orders of the prince, and never of his own motion. Nero over-ruled that defence, averring, that he had inspected all the papers of the late emperor, and from those vouchers it plainly appeared, that not one prosecution was set on foot by the order of Claudius. The criminal resorted to the commands of Messalina; but, by shifting his ground, his cause grew weaker. Why, it was argued, was he the only person who lent himself to

BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 811. A. D. 58. the wicked designs of that pernicious prostitute? Shall the perpetrator of evil deeds, who has received his hire, be allowed to transfer his guilt to the person who paid him the wages of his iniquity?

Suillius was condemned, and his effects were confiscated, except a part allowed to his son and grand-daughter, in addition to what was left to them under the will of their mother, and their grandmother. He was banished to the islands called the Baleares (*b*). During the whole of the trial, he behaved with undaunted firmness, and even after the sentence his spirit was still unbroken. He is said to have lived in his lone retreat, not only at ease, but in voluptuous affluence. His enemies intended to wreak their malice on his son Nerulinus, and, with that view, charged him with extortion. Nero checked the prosecution; the ends of justice being, as he thought, sufficiently answered.

XLIV. It happened, at this time, that Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, fell in love to distraction with a married

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woman of the name of Pontia. By presents and unbounded generosity he seduced her to his embraces, and, afterwards by a promise of marriage, engaged her consent to a divorce from her husband. Pontia was no sooner free from the nuptial tie, than her imagination opened to her other prospects. She affected delays; her father made objections; she had hopes of a better match, and finally she refused to perform her contract. Octavius expostulated; he complained; he threatened; his reputation suffered, and his fortune was ruined. His life was all that he had left, and that he was ready to sacrifice at her command. His suit, however earnest, made no impression. In despair, he begged one night only; that small indulgence would assuage his sorrows, and take the sting from disappointment. The assignation was made. Pontia ordered her servant, who was privy to the intrigue, to watch her bed-chamber. The lover went to his appointment. He carried with him one of his freedmen, and a poniard under his robe. The scene which usually occurs, when love is stung to jealousy, was acted between the par-

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ties; reproaches, fond endearments, rage, and tenderness, war and peace took their turn (*a*).

Part of the night was passed in mutual enjoyment. At length, Octavius, in the moment of soft security, when the unhappy victim thought all violence at an end, seized his dagger, and sheathed it in her heart. The maid rushed in to assist her mistress. Octavius wounded her, and made his escape. On the following day, the murder was reported abroad; and the hand that gave the blow was strongly suspected. Octavius, it was certain, had passed the night with the deceased; but his freedman boldly stood forth, and took the crime upon himself. It was his deed; an act of justice due to an injured master. This generous fortitude from the mouth of an assassin was heard with astonishment, and for some time gained credit, till the maid, who had recovered from her wound, disclosed the particulars of the whole transaction. Pontia's father appealed to the tribunal of the consuls, and Octavius, as soon as his office of tribune ceased, was

condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law against assassins (*b*). BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 811. A. D. 58.

XLV. In the course of the same year, another scene of libidinous passion was brought forward, more important than that which we have related, and, in the end, the cause of public calamity. Sabina Poppæa, at that time, lived at Rome in a style of taste and elegance. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she took her name from Poppæus Sabinus (*a*), her grandfather by the maternal line. Her father Ollius was, at one time, rising to the highest honours; but being a friend to Sejanus, he was involved in the ruin of that minister. The grandfather had figured on the stage of public business. He was of consular rank, and obtained the honour of a triumph. To be the known descendant of a man so distinguished flattered the vanity of Poppæa. Virtue excepted, she possessed all the qualities that adorn the female character. Her mother (*b*) was the reigning beauty of her time. From her the daughter inherited nobility of birth, with all the graces of an elegant form. Her

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fortune was equal to her rank; her conversation had every winning art; her talents were cultivated, and her wit refined. She knew how to assume an air of modesty, and yet pursue lascivious pleasures; in her deportment, decent; in her heart, a libertine. When she appeared in public, which was but seldom, she wore a veil, that shaded, or seemed to shade her face; perhaps intending, that her beauty should not wear out and tarnish to the eye; or because that style of dress was most becoming. To the voice of fame she paid no regard: her husband and her adulterer were equally welcome to her embraces. Love, with her, was not an affair of the heart. Knowing no attachment herself, she required none from others. Where she saw her interest, there she bestowed her favours; a politician even in her pleasures. She was married to Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, and was by him the mother of a son (*c*); but Otho, a youth of expectation, luxurious, prodigal, and high in favour with Nero, attracted her regard. She yielded to his addresses, and, in a short time, married the adulterer.

XLVI. Otho, in company with the emperor, grew lavish in her praise. Her beauty and her elegant manners were his constant theme. He talked, perhaps, with the warmth and indiscretion of a lover; perhaps, with a design to inflame the passions of Nero, and from their mutual relish of the same enjoyments to derive new strength to support his interest. Rising from Nero's table, he was often heard to say, "I am going to the arms of her, who "possesses every amiable accomplishment; "by her birth ennobled; endeared by "beauty; the wish of all beholders, and "to the favoured man the source of true "delight." Nero became enamoured. No time was lost. Poppæa received his visits. At the first interview she called forth all her charms, and ensured her conquest. She admired the dignity of the prince. His air, his manner, and his looks were irresistible. By this well-acted fondness she gained entire dominion over his affections. Proud of her success, she thought it time to act her part with female airs and coy reluctance. If Nero wished to detain her

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more than a night or two, she could not think of complying; she was married to a man whom she loved. She could not risk the loss of a situation so perfectly happy. Otho led a life of taste and elegance, unrivalled in his pleasures. Under his roof she saw nothing but magnificence, in a style worthy of the highest station. She objected to Nero that he had contracted different habits. He lived in close connection with Acté, a low-born slave; and from so mean a commerce, what could be expected but sordid manners and degenerate sentiment! From that moment, Otho lost his interest with the prince: he had orders neither to frequent the palace, nor to shew himself in the train of attendants. At length, to remove a rival, Nero made him governor of Lusitania. Otho quitted Rome, and, till the breaking out of the civil wars, continued in the administration of his province, a firm and upright magistrate, in this instance exhibiting to the world that wonderful union of repugnant qualities which marked the man; in private life, luxurious, profligate, and prone

to every vice; in his public capacity, prudent, just, and temperate in the use of power. BOOK XIII. A. U. C. 811. A. D. 58.

XLVII. It was in this juncture that Nero first threw off the mask. He had hitherto cloked the vices of his nature. The person whom he dreaded most, was Cornelius Sylla; a man, in fact, of a dull and sluggish understanding; but his stupidity passed with Nero for profound thinking, and the deep reserve of a dangerous politician. In this idea he was confirmed by the malignity of one Graptus, a man enfranchised by the emperor, and from the reign of Tiberius hackneyed in the practice of courts. He framed an artful story. The Milvian (*a*) bridge was, at that time, the fashionable scene of midnight revelry: being out of the limits of Rome, the emperor thought that he might riot, at that place, with unbounded freedom. Graptus told him, that a conspiracy had been formed against his life, and the villains lay in ambush on the Flaminian way; but as fortune would have it, the prince, by passing through the Sallus-

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tian (*b*) gardens, escaped the snare. To give colour to this invented tale, he alleged the following circumstance: In one of the riots, which were common in those dissolute times, a set of young men fell into a skirmish with the attendants of the emperor. This, he said, was a concerted plot, and Sylla was the author of it, though not so much as one of his clients, nor even a slave of his, was found to have been of the party. Sylla, in fact, had neither capacity nor spirit for an undertaking so big with danger; and yet, on the suggestion of Graptus, which was received as positive proof, he was obliged to quit his country, and reside, for the future, in the city of Marseilles.

XLVIII. During the same consulship, the senate gave audience to the deputies from the magistrates and the people of Puteoli (*a*). The former complained of the licentiousness of the populace, and the latter retaliated, in bitter terms, against the pride and avarice of the nobles. It appeared that the mob rose in a tumultuous body, discharging volleys of stones, and

threatening to set fire to the houses. A general massacre was likely to be the consequence. Caius Cassius was dispatched to quell the insurrection. His measures, too harsh and violent for the occasion, served only to irritate the people. He was recalled, at his own request, and the two Scribonii were sent to supply his place. They took with them a prætorian cohort. By the terror of a military force, and the execution of a few ringleaders, the public tranquillity was restored.

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XLIX. A DECREE of the senate, which had no higher object than to authorise the people of Syracuse to exceed, in their public spectacles, the number of gladiators limited by law, would be matter too trite, and unworthy of notice, if the opposition, made by Pætus Thrasea, had not excited against that excellent man a number of enemies. They seized the opportunity to traduce his character. "If he is, as he "pretends to be, seriously of opinion, that "the public good requires liberty of speech "and freedom of debate, why descend to "things so frivolous in their nature? Are

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" peace and war of no importance? When
" laws are in question; when tributes and
" imposts are the subject before the fathers,
" and, when points of the first importance
" are in agitation, where is his eloquence
" then? Every senator, who rises in his
" place, has the privilege of moving what-
" ever he conceives to be conducive to the
" public welfare; and what he moves, he
" has a right to discuss, to debate, and put
" to the vote. And yet to regulate the am-
" phitheatre of Syracuse is the sole busi-
" ness of a professed and zealous patriot.
" Is the administration in all its parts
" so fair and perfect, that even Thrasea
" himself, if he held the reins of govern-
" ment, could find nothing to reform? If
" he suffers matters of the first importance
" to pass in silence, why amuse us with a
" mock debate on questions, wherein no
" man finds himself interested."

The friends of Thrasea desired an explanation of his conduct: his answer was as follows: When he rose to make his objections to the law in question, he was not ignorant of the mismanagement that pre-

vailed in all departments of the government; but the principle on which he acted, had in view the honour of the senate. When matters of little moment drew the attention of the fathers, men would see that affairs of importance could not escape a body of men, who thought nothing that concerned the public beneath their notice.

L. The complaints of the people, in the course of this year, against the oppressions practised by the collectors (*a*) of the revenue, were so loud and violent, that Nero was inclined to abolish the whole system of duties and taxes, thereby to serve the interests of humanity, and bestow on mankind the greatest blessing in his power. To this generous sentiment the fathers gave the highest applause; but the design, they said, however noble, was altogether impracticable. To abrogate all taxes, were to cut off the resources of government, and dissolve the commonwealth. Repeal the imposts on trade, and what would be the consequence? The tribute paid by the provinces must, in like manner, be re-

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mitted. The several companies that farmed the revenue were established by the consuls and tribunes of Rome, in the period of liberty, when the old republic flourished in all its glory. The revenue system, which has since grown up, was formed on a fair estimate, proportioned to the demands of government. It would, indeed, be highly proper to restrain within due bounds the conduct of the collectors, that the several duties, which were sanctioned by the acquiescence of ages, might not, by oppression and rapacity, be converted into a grievance too rigorous to be endured.

LI. NERO issued a proclamation, directing that the revenue laws (*a*), till that time kept among the mysteries of state, should be drawn up in form, and entered on the public tables for the inspection of all degrees and ranks of men. It was also made a rule, that no arrear of more than a year's standing should be recovered by the tax-gatherers, and, in all cases of complaint against those officers, the same should be heard and decided in a summary way, by

the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors or proconsuls. To the soldiers all former privileges and immunities were preserved, with an exception of the duties on merchandize, if they entered into trade. Many other regulations were added, all just and equitable, and, for some time, strictly observed, but suffered afterwards to fall into disuse. The abolition, however, of the fortieth and the fiftieth penny, with many other exactions, invented by the avarice of the publicans, still continues in force. The exportation of corn, from the provinces beyond sea, was also put under proper regulations; the imposts were diminished; the shipping employed in commerce was not to be rated in the estimate of the merchants effects, and, of course, stood exempted from all duties.

LII. Sulpicius Camerinus (*a*) and Pomponius Silvanus, who had governed in Africa with proconsular authority, were both accused of mal-administration, and acquitted by the emperor. The accusers of Camerinus were few in number, and their

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allegations were private acts of cruelty to individuals, not rapine or extortion, or any charge of a public nature. Silvanus was beset by powerful enemies. They prayed time to produce their witnesses: the defendant pressed for an immediate hearing. He was rich, advanced in years, and had no children; the consequence was, that a strong party espoused his interest. He triumphed over his enemies, and his friends went unrewarded. They hoped by their services to merit his estate, but he survived them all.

LIII. During this whole period, a settled calm prevailed in Germany. The commanders, in that quarter, plainly saw that triumphal ornaments, granted, as they had been, on every trifling occasion, were no longer an honour. To preserve the peace of the provinces they thought their truest glory. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then at the head of the legions. That the soldiery, however, might not languish in a state of inaction, Paulinus finished the great work of a bank, to prevent the inundations of the Rhine; a pro-

ject begun by Drusus sixty-three years before (*a*). Vetus had conceived a vast design: he had in contemplation a canal, by which the waters of the Moselle (*b*) and the Arar were to be communicated, to the end that the Roman forces might be able, for the future, to enter the Rhone from the Mediterranean, and passing thence into the Arar, proceed through the new channel into the Moselle, and sail down the Rhine into the German Ocean. This plan was on a great scale: fatiguing marches over a long tract of land would be no longer necessary, and a commodious navigation would be opened between the western and the northern seas.

Ælius Gracilis, who commanded in the Belgic Gaul, heard of this magnificent plan with the jealousy of a little mind. He gave notice to Vetus, that he and his legions must not think of entering the province of another officer. Such a step, he said, would have the appearance of a design to gain the affections of the people of Gaul, and, by consequence, might give umbrage to the emperor. In this manner,

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as often happens, the danger of having too much merit laid aside a project of great importance to the public.

LIV. THE Barbarians, having seen the long inactivity of the Roman armies, conceived a notion, that the generals had it in command not to march against the enemy. In this persuasion, the Frisians (*a*), having ordered the weak, through sex or age, to be conveyed across the lakes, marched with the flower of their young men through woods and morasses towards the banks of the Rhine, where they took possession of a large tract, vacant, indeed, at the time, but in fact appropriated to the use of the Roman soldiers. In this emigration, the leading chiefs were Verritus and Malorix, both of them sovereign princes, if sovereign power may be said to exist in Germany. They had already fixed their habitations; they began to cultivate the soil, and the lands were sown in as full security as if they occupied their native soil; when Vibius Avitus, who succeeded Paulinus in the government of the province, threatened to attack them with his whole force, if they

did not evacuate the country, or obtain a settlement from the emperor. Intimidated by these menaces, the German chiefs set out for Rome. Being there obliged to wait till Nero was at leisure from other business, they employed their time in seeing such curiosities as are usually shewn to strangers. They were conducted to Pompey's theatre (*b*), where the grandeur of the people, in one vast assembly, could not fail to make an impression. Rude minds have no taste for the exhibitions of the theatre (*c*). They gazed at every thing with a face of wonder: the place for the populace, and the different seats assigned to the several orders of the state, engaged their attention. Curiosity was excited: they enquired which were the Roman knights, and which the senators? Among the last they perceived a few, who, by their exotic dress, were known to be foreigners. They soon learned that they were ambassadors from different states, and that the privilege of mixing with the fathers was granted by way of distinction, to do honour to men, who by their courage and fidelity surpassed the rest of the world. The an-

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swer gave offence to the two chieftains. In point of valour and integrity, the Germans, they said, were second to no people upon earth. With this stroke of national pride, they rose abruptly, and took their seats among the senators. Their rough, but honest simplicity diffused a general pleasure through the audience. It was considered as the sudden impulse of liberty; a glow of generous emulation. Nero granted to the two chiefs the privilege of Roman citizens, but, at the same time, declared, that the Frisians must depart from the lands which they had presumed to occupy. The Barbarians refused to submit. A detachment of the auxiliary horse was sent forward, with orders to dislodge them. The attack was made with vigour, and all who resisted, were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword.

LV. Another irruption was soon after made in the same quarter by the Ansibarians (*a*), a people respected for their own internal strength, and still more formidable, on account of the general sympathy with which the neighbouring states beheld their

sufferings. They had been driven by the Chaucians from their native land, and having no place which they could call their country, they roamed about in quest of some retreat, where they might dwell in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown in arms, and distinguished himself by his faithful attachment to the interests of Rome. He urged, in vindication of his conduct, that in the revolt of the Cheruscans (*b*), he had been loaded with irons by the order of Arminius. Since that time, he had served in the Roman armies; at first under Tiberius, and afterwards under Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to add to his past services the merit of submitting himself and his people to the protection of the Romans. "The country in dispute," he said, "was of wide extent; and under colour of "reserving it for the use of the legions, "whole tracts of land remained unoccu- "pied, waste, and desolate. Let the Ro- "man soldiers depasture their cattle; let "them retain lands for that purpose; but

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" let them not, while they feed their horses, " reduce mankind to the necessity of perishing by famine. Let them not prefer " a dreary solitude to the interests of humany. The affections of a people, willing to live in friendship with them, are " preferable to a wide waste of barren lands. " The exclusive possession of the country " in question was by no means a novelty. " It had been occupied, first by the Chamavians (*c*); after them by the Tubantes; " and, finally, by the Usipians. The firmament over our heads is the mansion of " the gods; the earth was given to man; " and what remains unoccupied, lies in " common for all." At these words, he looked up to the sun, and appealing to the whole planetary system, asked with a spirit of enthusiasm, as if the heavenly luminaries were actually present, whether an uncultivated desert, the desolation of nature, gave a prospect fit for them to survey? Would they not rather let loose the ocean, to overwhelm in a sudden deluge a race of men, who made it their trade to carry devastation through the nations, and make the world a wilderness?

LVI. AVITUS answered in a decisive tone, that the law of the strongest must prevail. "The gods, whom Boiocalus in- "voked, had so ordained. By their high "will, the Romans were invested with su- "preme authority: to give, or take away "was their prerogative; they were the so- "vereign arbiters, and would admit no "other judges." Such was the answer given in public to the Ansibarians. To Boiocalus, in consideration of his former merit, an allotment of lands was privately offered. The German considered it as the price of treachery, and rejected it with disdain: "The earth," he said, "may not "afford a spot where we may dwell in "peace; a place where we may die we can "never want." The interview ended here. Both sides departed with mutual animosity. The Ansibarians prepared for war. They endeavoured to rouse the Bructerians (*a*), the Tencterians, and other nations still more remote. Avitus sent dispatches to Curtilius Mancia, the commander in chief on the Upper Rhine, with instructions to cross the river, and shew himself in the rear of the enemy. In the

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mean time, he put himself at the head of his legions, and entered the country of the Tencterians (*b*), threatening to carry sword and fire through their territories, if they did not forthwith renounce the confederacy. The Barbarians laid down their arms. The Bructerians in a panic followed their example. Terror and consternation spread through the country. In the cause of others none were willing to encounter certain danger.

In this distress, the Ansibarians, abandoned by all, retreated to the Usipians and Tubantes. Being there rejected, they sought protection from the Cattians, and afterwards from the Cheruscans. In the end, worn out with long and painful marches, no where received as friends, in most places repulsed as enemies, and wanting every thing in a foreign land, the whole nation perished. The young, and such as were able to carry arms, were put to the sword; the rest were sold to slavery.

LVII. In the course of the same summer, a battle was fought, with great rage

and slaughter, between the Hermundurians and the Cattians (*a*). The exclusive property of a river, which flowed between both nations, impregnated with stores of salt (*b*), was the cause of their mutual animosity. To the natural fierceness of Barbarians, who know no decision but that of the sword, they added the gloomy motives of superstition. According to the creed of those savage nations, that part of the world lay in the vicinity of the heavens, and thence the prayers of men were wafted to the ear of the gods. The whole region was, by consequence, peculiarly favoured; and to that circumstance it was to be ascribed, that the river and the adjacent woods teemed with quantities of salt (*c*), not, as in other places, a concretion on the sea-shore, formed by the foaming of the waves, but produced by the simple act of throwing the water from the stream on a pile of burning wood, where, by the conflict of opposite elements, the substance was engendered. For this salt a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared in favour of the Hermundurians. The event was the more destructive to the Cattians, as both

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armies, with their usual ferocity, had devoted the vanquished as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. By that horrible vow, men and horses, with whatever belonged to the routed army, were doomed to destruction. The vengeance meditated by the Cattians fell with redoubled fury on themselves.

About the same time, a dreadful and unforeseen disaster befel the Ubians, a people in alliance with Rome. By a sudden eruption of subterraneous fire, their farms, their villages, their cities, and their habitations were all involved in one general conflagration. The flames extended far and wide, and well nigh reached the Roman colony, lately founded in that part of Germany. The fire raged with such violence, that neither the rain from the heavens, nor the river-waters could extinguish it. Every remedy failed, till the peasants, driven to desperation, threw in heaps of stones, and checked the fury of the flames. The mischief beginning to subside, they advanced with clubs, as if to attack a troop of wild beasts. Having beat down the fire, they stripped off their cloaths,

and throwing them, wet and besmeared with filth, upon the flames, extinguished the conflagration.

LVIII. This year the tree, called Ruminalis (*a*), which stood in the place assigned for public elections, and eight hundred and forty years before (*b*) had given shelter to the infancy of Romulus and Remus, began to wither in all its branches. The sapless trunk seemed to threaten a total decay. This was considered as a dreadful prognostic, till new buds expanding into leaf, the tree recovered its former verdure.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

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These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome	Of Christ.	Consuls.
812	59	*Caius Vipstanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.*
813	60	*Nero, 4th time, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.*
814	61	*Cæsonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.*
815	62	*P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.*

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIV. A. U. C. 812. A. D. 59.

1. Caius Vipstanus and Lucius Fonteius succeeded to the consulship. Nero was determined no longer to defer the black design which had lain for some time fostered in his heart. He had gained in four years a taste of power, and was now grown sanguine enough to think that he might hazard a daring stride in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every day to higher ardour. To be the imperial wife was the ambition of that aspiring beauty; but while Agrippina lived, she could not hope to see Octavia divorced from the emperor. She began, by whispered calumny,

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to undermine the emperor's mother, and, at times, in a vein of pleasantry, to alarm the pride and jealousy of Nero. With an air of raillery she called him a pupil, still under tuition; a dependant on the will of others, in fancy guiding the reins of government, but, in reality, deprived of personal liberty. "For what other reason was "her marriage so long deferred? Had her "person already lost the power of pleas-"ing? Were the triumphal honours ob-"tained by her ancestors a bar to her pre-"ferment? Or was it supposed that she "was not of a fruitful constitution, capable "of bearing children? Perhaps the sincerity "of her love was called in question. No; "the voice of a wife might be heard, and "the pride and avarice with which an im-"perious mother insulted the senate and "oppressed the people, might be expos-"ed in open day. If, however, it was a "settled point with Agrippina, that no one "but the bosom plague of the emperor "should be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa "could return to the embraces of Otho (*a*); "with him she could retire to some remote "corner of the world, where she might

"hear, indeed, of the emperor's disgrace, "but at a distance, with the consolation of "neither being a spectatress of the scene, "nor a sharer in his afflictions." By these and such like suggestions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, she ensnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To see the pride of Agrippina humbled was the wish of all; but that the son would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. In the history of those times transmitted to us by Cluvius, we read, that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not scruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he rose from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Having adorned her person to the best advantage, she hoped, in those moments, to incite desire, and allure him to the unnatural union. Wanton play and amorous dalliance were seen by the confidential attendants, and deemed a certain prelude to the act of criminal gratification. Against the

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artifices of one woman Seneca resolved to play off the charms of another, and Acté (*a*) was accordingly employed. The jealousy of the concubine was easily alarmed: she saw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her lesson, she gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with incest, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, she said, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of so deep a dye. Fabius Rusticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not seek this vile pollution. It was the unnatural passion of Nero, and Acté had the address to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the testimony of other writers. The report of common fame is also on his side. Men were willing to believe the worst of Agrippina. If she was not, in fact, guilty of a design so detestable, a new inclination, however shocking to nature, seemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, resigned her person to Lepidus (*b*); who afterwards, with the same view, descended to be the prosti-

tute of Pallas, and, to crown the whole, by an incestuous marriage with her uncle, avowed herself capable of the worst of crimes. BOOK XIV. A.U.C. 812. A.D. 59.

III. From this time Nero shunned the presence of his mother. Whenever she went to her gardens, or to either of her seats at Tusculum (*a*) or Antium, he commended her taste for the pleasures of retirement. At length, detesting her wherever she was, he determined to dispatch her at once. How to execute his purpose, whether by poison, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former seemed the most advisable; but to administer it at his own table might be dangerous, since the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domestics was equally unsafe. A woman of her cast, practised in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be upon her guard; and besides, by the habit of using antidotes, she was fortified against every kind of poison. To assassinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no settled plan, nor was

BOOK XIV. there among his creatures a single person in whom he could confide.

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In this embarrassment Anicetus offered his assistance. This man had a genius for the worst iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchised slave he rose to the command of the fleet that lay at Misenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hostility produced mutual hatred. He proposed the model of a ship upon a new construction, formed in such a manner that, in the open sea, part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he said, was the element of disasters; and if the vessel foundered, malignity itself could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverse winds and boisterous waves. After her decease the prince would have nothing to do but to raise a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. NERO approved of the stratagem,

and the circumstances of the time conspired to favour it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the festival called the QUINQUATRUA (*a*). Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. "The humours of a parent claimed "indulgence; for sudden starts of passion "allowance ought to be made, and petty "resentments could not be effaced too "soon." By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his entire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no doubt, with the easy credulity of her sex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wishes. She sailed from Antium to attend the festival. The prince went to the sea-coast to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and conducted her to a villa called Bauli (*b*), in a pleasant situation, washed by the sea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Misenum and the gulph of Baiæ. Among the vessels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more superb than the rest, seemed intended by its decorations to do honour to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was

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fond of sailing parties. She frequently made coasting voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners selected from the fleet. The banquet, of which she was to partake, was fixed at a late hour, that the darkness of the night might favour the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

But the secret transpired: on the first intelligence, Agrippina, it is said, could scarce give credit to so black a story. She chose, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land carriage. Her fears, as soon as she arrived, were dissipated by the polite address of her son. He gave her the most gracious reception, and placed her at table above himself. He talked with frankness, and, by intermixing sallies of youthful vivacity with more sedate conversation, had the skill to blend the gay, the airy, and the serious. He protracted the pleasures of the social meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the shore; he exchanged a thousand fond endearments, and, clasping her to his bosom, fixed his eyes upon her with ardent affection, per-

haps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to disguise his purpose; or, it might be, that the sight of a mother doomed to destruction, might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

V. That this iniquitous scene should not be wrapped in darkness, the care of Providence seems to have interposed. The night was calm and serene; the stars shot forth their brightest lustre, and the sea presented a smooth expanse. Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domestic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the steerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, stretched herself at the foot of the bed where her mistress lay, and in the fullness of her heart expressed her joy to see the son awakened to a sense of his duty, and the mother restored to his good graces. The vessel had made but little way, when, on a signal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabbin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead, Crepereius was crushed under the weight. The props of

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the bed-room, happening to be of a solid structure, bore up the load, and saved both Agrippina and her servant. Nor did the vessel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Consternation, hurry, and confusion followed. The innocent, in a panic, bustled to and fro, embarrassing and confounding such as were in the plot. To heave the ship on one side, and sink her at once, was the design of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the rest making contrary efforts, the vessel went down by slow degrees. This gave the passengers an opportunity of escaping from the wreck, and trusting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herself Agrippina, and, with pathetic accents, implored the mariners to save the emperor's mother. The assassins fell upon her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever instruments they could seize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina hushed her fears; not a word escaping from her, she passed undistinguished by the murderers, without any other damage

than a wound on her shoulder. She dashed into the sea, and, by struggling with all her efforts, kept herself above water till the small barks put off from the shore, and, coming in good time to her assistance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake (*a*) to her own villa.

VI. She was now at leisure to reflect on the misery of her situation. The treachery of her son's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a gust of wind, and without touching a rock, at a small distance from the shore, the vessel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which she herself received, were decisive circumstances. But even in that juncture she thought it best to temporise. Against powerful enemies not to see too much is the safest policy. She sent her freedman Agerinus to inform her son that, by the favour of the gods, and the good auspices of the emperor, she had escaped from a shipwreck. The news, she had no doubt, would affect

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her son, but for the present, she wished he would forbear to visit her. In her situation, rest was all she wanted. Having dispatched her messenger, she assumed an air of courage; she got her wound dressed, and used all proper applications. With an air of ease she called for the last will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, secured every thing under her own seal; acting in this single article without dissimulation.

VII. NERO, in the mean time, expected, with impatience, an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at last was brought that she still survived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and astonishment. In the hurry of his imagination he saw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling aloud for vengeance, and rousing her slaves to an insurrection. She might have recourse to the army, and stir up a rebellion; she might open the whole dark transaction to the senate; she might carry her complaints to

the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumstance would inflame resentment. What course remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had sent for them on the first alarm: they came with expedition, but whether strangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They stood, for some time, fixed in silence. To dissuade the emperor from his fell design, they knew was not in their power; and, in the present dilemma, they saw, perhaps, that Agrippina must fall, or Nero perish. Seneca, though on all other occasions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pause, he desired to know whether it were advisable to order the soldiers to complete the business? Burrhus was of opinion, that the prætorian soldiers, devoted to the house of Cæsar, and still respecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to spill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finish the last act of the tragedy.

That bold assassin undertook the business. He desired to have the catastrophe

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in his own hands. Nero revived at the sound. From that day, he said, the imperial dignity would be his, and that mighty benefit would be conferred by an enfranchised slave. "Haste, fly," he cried; "take with you men fit for your purpose, "and consummate all." Anicetus heard that a message was sent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new scene of villany. While the messenger was in the act of addressing the prince, he dropped a poniard between his legs, and instantly, as if he had discovered a treasonable design, seized the man, and loaded him with irons, from that circumstance taking colour to charge Agrippina with a plot against the life of her son. When she was disposed of, a report that, in despair, she put an end to her life, would be an apt addition to the fable.

VIII. Meanwhile, the news of Agrippina's danger spread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people rushed in crowds to the sea-shore; they went on the piers

that projected into the sea: they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; stretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help: the bay resounded with shrieks and lamentations, with distracting questions, dissonant answers, and a wild confusion of voices. Amidst the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was safe, they pressed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed soldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to disperse. Anicetus planted a guard round the mansion of Agrippina, and having burst open the gates, he seized the slaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domestics remained at the door to guard the entrance; fear had dispersed the rest. In the room, the pale glimmer of a feeble light was seen, and only one maid in waiting. Before the ruffians broke in, Agrippina passed the moments in dreadful agitation: she wondered that no messenger had arrived from her son. What detained Agerinus? She listened, and on the coast where, not long before, the whole

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was tumult, noise, and confusion, a dismal silence prevailed, broken, at intervals, by a sudden uproar, that added to the horror of the scene. Agrippina trembled for herself. Her servant was leaving the room: she called to her, "And do you too desert me?" In that instant she saw Anicetus entering the chamber. Herculeus, who had the command of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. "If you "come," said Agrippina, "from the prince, "tell him I am well; if your intents are "murderous, you are not sent by my son: "the guilt of parricide is foreign to his "heart." The ruffians surrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his sword: at the sight Agrippina presented her person, "And here," she said, "PLUNGE YOUR SWORD IN MY WOMB." Herculeus, in that moment, gave the first blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. THE facts here related stand confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historians. It is added, but not with equal

authority, that Nero beheld his mother stretched in death, and praised the elegance of her form. This, however, is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, such as is used at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night. During the life of Nero, no honour was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where she lay: nor was there so much as a mound of earth to inclose the place. After some time an humble monument (*a*) was raised by her domestics on the road to Misenum, near the villa (*b*) of Cæsar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful prospect of the sea and the bays along the coast. Mnester, one of the enfranchised slaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As soon as the pile was lighted, this man, unwilling to survive his mistress, or, perhaps, dreading the malice of her enemies, dispatched himself with his own sword. Of her own dreadful catastrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when consulting the Chaldeans about the future lot of her son, she was told, that he would reign at Rome, and kill his mother. "Let him,"

BOOK XIV. she said, "let him kill me, but let him reign."

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X. This dreadful parricide was no sooner executed, than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the rest of the night, on the rack of his own mind; silent, pensive, starting up with sudden fear, wild and distracted. He lifted his eyes in quest of day-light, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the first to administer consolation. The flattery of these men raised him from despair. They grasped his hand, congratulating him on his escape from the dark designs of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighbouring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and sent addresses to the prince. Nero played a different part: he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconsolable for the loss of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, assume a new appearance. The sea and the adjacent coast presented

to his eyes a scene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the time that the sound of trumpets was distinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and shrieks issued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place dispatched letters to the senate, in substance as follows:

XI. "AGERINUS, the freedman of Agrip-
" pina, and of all her creatures the high-
" est in her confidence, was found armed
" with a poniard; and the blow being pre-
" vented, with the same spirit that planned
" the murder of her son, she dispatched
" herself." The letter proceeded to state a number of past transactions: " Her ambi-
" tion aimed at a share in the supreme
" power, and the prætorian bands were
" obliged to take an oath of fidelity to her.
" The senate and the people were to sub-
" mit to the same indignity, and bear the
" yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her
" schemes defeated, she became an enemy
" to the fathers, to the soldiers, and the
" whole community; she neither suffered
" a donative to be distributed to the army,

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" nor a largess to the populace. At her " instigation prosecutions were set on foot " against the best and most illustrious men " in Rome. If she did not enter the senate, " and give audience to the ambassadors of " foreign nations (*a*), all would remember " how that disgrace was prevented." The reign of Claudius did not escape his animadversion; but whatever were the enormities of that period, Agrippina, he said, was the cause of all. Her death was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was signally displayed. He gave a circumstantial account of the shipwreck: but what man existed, so absurd and stupid, as to believe it the effect of chance? Was it probable that a woman, who had just escaped from the fury of the waves, would send a single ruffian to attempt the life of a prince, surrounded by his guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was useless to complain. Censure was lost in mute astonishment. The popular odium fell on Seneca: his pen was seen in the prince's letters, and

the attempt to gloss and varnish so vile a deed, was considered as the avowal of an accomplice.

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XII. The voice of the people did not restrain the adulation of the senate. Several decrees were passed in a strain of servile flattery; such as supplications and solemn vows at all the altars throughout the city of Rome; the festival called the Quinquatrua (during which the late conspiracy was detected) were to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public games; the statue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the senate house, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniversary of Agrippina's birthday to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thrasea had been often present, when the fathers descended to acts of meanness, and he did not rise in opposition; but, upon this occasion, he left his seat, and walked out of the house, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no service to the cause of liberty.

There happened, about this time, a num-

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ber of prodigies, all deemed striking prognostics, but no consequences followed. A woman was delivered of a serpent: another died in the embrace of her husband, by a stroke of thunder. The sun suffered an eclipse (*a*), and the fourteen quarters of Rome were struck with lightning. In these extraordinary appearances the hand of providence, it is evident, did not interpose; since the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to harass mankind for several years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view; the first to blacken the memory of his mother; and the second, to amuse the people with a show of his own clemency, when left, without controul, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end, he recalled from banishment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive spirit of Agrippina, two illustrious women, namely, Junia (*b*) and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of prætorian rank. He permitted the ashes of Lollia Paulina (*c*) to be brought to Rome, and a mausoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calvisius (*d*), whom his own violence had

driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana (*e*) had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princess began to decline, or her resentment to be appeased, she had obtained leave to return from her distant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place she closed her days.

XIII. Nero loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he should enter the city of Rome. Would the senate receive him with a submissive and complying spirit? Could he rely on the temper of the people? These were points that made him anxious and irresolute. The vile advisers of his court (and never court abounded with so pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping spirit. They assured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in detestation, and, since her death, the affections of the people for the person of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to show himself, and it would be seen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they de-

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sired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival, they found all things favourable beyond their hopes; they saw the several tribes going forth in procession to meet the prince; the senate in their robes of state; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in classes according to their respective ages, in the streets through which Nero was to pass; rows of scaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of spectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing slaves, and proceeded, amidst the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all restraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his passions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full display of his character.

XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a cur-

ricle and four horses, had been long the favourite passion of Nero. He had besides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and sing to his own performance. With this pitiful ambition he had been often the minstrel of convivial parties. He justified his taste by observing, that "in ancient times, it had been "the practice of heroes and of kings. The "names of illustrious persons, who conse- "crated their talents to the honour of the "gods, were preserved in immortal verse. "Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody "and song; and, though invested with the "higher attributes of inspiration and pro- "phecy, he was represented, not only in "the cities of Greece, but also in the Ro- "man temples, with a lyre in his hand, "and the dress of a musical performer." The rage of Nero for these amusements was not to be controuled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavoured to prevent the ridicule, to which a prince might expose himself by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their direction, a wide space, in the vale at the foot of the Vatican (*a*), was inclosed for the use of the emperor,

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that he might there manage the reins, and practise all his skill, without being a spectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within those narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled, with raptures, the abilities of a prince, who gratified their darling passion for public diversions.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as soon as he had his frolic, would be sensible of the disgrace; but the effect was otherwise. The applause of the populace inspired him with fresh ardour. To keep himself in countenance, he conceived if he could bring the practice into fashion, that his own infamy would be lost in the disgrace of others. With this view, he cast his eye on the descendants of families once illustrious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that class of men he selected the most necessitous, such as would be easily tempted to let themselves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public stage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honour of their an-

cestors claims respect. The disgrace recoils on him, who chose to employ his treasure, not for the noble end of preventing scandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to stop here: by vast rewards he bribed several Roman knights to descend into the Arena, and present a show to the people. The situation of these unhappy men deserves our pity; for what are the bribes of an absolute prince, but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. NERO was not as yet hardy enough to expose his person on a public stage. To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, and at the same time to save appearances, he established an entertainment, called the JUVENILE SPORTS. To promote this institution, numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimickry; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank (*a*)

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studied the most lascivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Augustus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame desire. By the prince's orders sums of money were distributed. Good men, through motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever ministered to sensuality, was sure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

The manners, it is true, had, long before this time, fallen into degeneracy; but in these new assemblies a torrent of vice bore down every thing, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when science and the liberal arts had not entirely lost their influence, virtue and modesty could scarce maintain their post; but in an age, that openly professed every species of depravity, what stand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modest merit? The general corruption encouraged Nerō to throw off all restraint. He mounted the stage, and became a public performer for the amusement of the people.

With his harp in his hand, he entered the scene; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate flourishes gave a prelude to his art. He stood in a circle of his friends, a prætorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his person. Burrhus was also present, pleasure in his countenance, and anguish at his heart. He grieved, while he applauded. At this time was instituted a company of Roman knights under the title of THE AUGUSTAN SOCIETY (*b*), consisting of young men in the prime of life, some of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended night and day, to applaud the prince; they admired the graces of his person, and, in the various notes of that exquisite voice, they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of sycophants assumed airs of grandeur, swelling with self-importance, as if they were all rising to preferment by their genius and their virtue.

XVI. THEATRICAL fame was not suf-

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ficient for the ambition of Nero: he wished to excel in poetry. All, who possessed the art of versification, were assembled to assist his studies. In this society of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, displayed the first essays of their genius. They met in the dearest intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different hands (*a*), were brought to the meeting, or composed on the spot; and those fragments, however unconnected, they endeavoured to weave into a regular poem, taking care to insert the words and phrases of the emperor, as the most brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method, appears from a perusal of the several compositions, in which we see rhapsody without genius, verse without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philosophy disregarded by the emperor. At stated hours, when his convivial joys were finished, the professors of wisdom were admitted. Various systems were dogmatically supported; and to see the followers of different sects quarrel about an hypothesis was the amusement of Nero. He saw besides, among the ve-

nerable sages, some with formal mien and looks of austerity, who under an air of coyness plainly shewed that they relished the pleasures of a court.

XVII. About this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria (*a*) and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The dispute, slight in the beginning, soon rose to violence, and terminated in blood. It happened that Livinieus Regulus (*b*), who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the senate, gave a spectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jests and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuse and scurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger rose to fury; stones were thrown, and finally they had recourse to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the spectacle was given, were too strong for their adversaries. The Nucerians suffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were sent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The senate, to whom the matter was referred by the

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prince, directed an enquiry before the consuls, and, upon their report, passed a decree, prohibiting for the space of ten years, the like assemblies at Pompeium, and, moreover, dissolving certain societies established in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ring-leaders in the riot, were ordered into banishment.

XVIII. At the suit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæsus (*a*) was expelled the senate. The charge against him was, that he had pillaged the sacred treasure of Æsculapius, and, in the business of listing soldiers, had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of gross partiality. A complaint was preferred by the same people against Acilius Strabo, a man of prætorian rank, who had been sent a commissioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to ascertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly belonged to king Apion (*b*), and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant possession, and from occupancy and length

of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, disappointed in their expectations, appealed from the sentence of Strabo. The senate, professing to know nothing of the commission granted by Claudius, referred the business to the decision of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to shew a mark of good will to the allies of Rome, he restored the lands in question to the persons, who had been dispossessed.

XIX. In a short time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illustrious citizens, eminent for the civil honours which they attained, and not less distinguished by their eloquence. Afer had been a shining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the same career, but having left the forum, gave a signal proof of his genius by a well digested history of Roman affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contrast to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his superior (*a*).

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XX. Nero entered on his fourth consulship, with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague. On the model of the Greek olympics, he instituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and, for that reason, called quinquennial (*a*). In this, as in all cases of innovation, the opinions of men were much at variance. By such as disliked the measure, it was observed, "that even Pompey, by building a permanent theatre (*b*), gave offence to the "thinking men of that day. Before that "period, an occasional theatre, with scenery and benches to serve the purpose, "was deemed sufficient; and, if the enquiry were carried back to ancient times, "it would be found that the spectators "were obliged to stand during the whole "representation. The reason was, that the "people, accommodated with seats, might "be tempted to waste whole days in idle "amusements. Public spectacles were, indeed, of ancient origin, and, if still left to "the direction of the prætor, might be exhibited with good order and propriety. "But the new mode of pressing the citi-

" zens of Rome into the service of the stage " had ruined all decorum. The manners " had long since degenerated, and now, to " work their total subversion, luxury was " called in from every quarter of the " globe; foreign nations were ransacked " for the incentives of vice; and, whatever " was in itself corrupt, or capable of diffus- " ing corruption, was to be found at Rome. " Exotic customs and a foreign taste in- " fected the young men of the time; dissi- " pation, gymnastic arts, and infamous in- " trigues were the fashion, encouraged by " the prince and the senate, and not only " encouraged, but established by their " sanction, enforced by their authority.

" Under colour of promoting poetry " and eloquence, the patricians of Rome " disgraced themselves on the public stage. " What further step remained? Nothing, " but to bare their bodies; to anoint their " limbs; to come forth naked in the lists; " to wield the cæstus, and, throwing aside " their military weapons, fight prizes for " the entertainment of the rabble. Will " the sanctity of the augur's office, or

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" the judicial character (*c*) of the Roman
" knights, edify by the manners now in
" vogue? Will the former be held in
" higher reverence, because he has been
" lately taught to thrill with ecstasy at the
" soft airs of an effeminate song? And
" will the judge decide with greater ability,
" because he affects to have a taste, and
" to pronounce on music? Vice goes on
" increasing; the night is added to the
" day; and, in mixed assemblies, the pro-
" fligate libertine, under covert of the dark,
" may safely gratify the base desires, which
" his imagination formed in the course of
" the day."

XXI. LICENTIOUS pleasure had a number of advocates; all of them the apologists of vice disguised under specious names. By these men it was argued, " that the citizens of Rome, in the earliest " period, were addicted to public shows, " and the expence kept pace with the " wealth of the times. Pantomime play-" ers (*a*) were brought from Tuscany, and " horse-races (*b*) from Thurium. When " Greece and Asia were reduced to sub-

" jection, the public games were exhibited
" with greater pomp; though it must be
" acknowledged, that in two hundred years
" (the time that elapsed from the triumph
" of Lucius Mummius (*c*), who first intro-
" duced theatrical representations) not one
" Roman citizen of rank or family was
" known to degrade himself by listing in a
" troop of comedians. But it is also true,
" that, by erecting a permanent theatre, a
" great annual expence was avoided. The
" magistrate is now no longer obliged to
" ruin his private fortune for the diversion
" of the public. The whole expenditure is
" transferred to the state, and, without en-
" cumbering a single individual, the people
" may enjoy the games of Greece. The
" contests between poets and orators would
" raise a spirit of emulation, and promote
" the cause of literature. Nor will the
" judge be disgraced, if he lends an ear to
" the productions of genius, and shares the
" pleasures of a liberal mind. In the quin-
" quennial festival, lately instituted, a few
" nights, every fifth year, would be dedi-
" cated, not to criminal gratifications,
" but to social gaiety, in a place fitted

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"for a large assembly, and illuminated "with such a glare of light, that clan- "destine vice would by consequence be "excluded."

Such was the argument of the advocates for dissipation. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the celebration of the new festival was conducted without any offence against decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of excess. The pantomime performers, though restored to the theatre, were still excluded from such exhibitions as were held to be of a sacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the emperor, to pronounce him conqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in vogue during the festival, gave disgust, and from that time fell into disuse.

XXII. A COMET having appeared, in this juncture, that phænomenon, according to the popular opinion, announced that

governments were to be changed, and kings dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero was already deposed, and who should be his successor was the question. The name of Rubellius Plautus resounded in every quarter. By the maternal line this eminent citizen was of the Julian house. A strict observer of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid austerity of character. Recluse and virtuous in his family, he lived remote from danger, but his fame from the shade of obscurity shone forth with brighter lustre. The report of his elevation was confirmed by an accident, slight in itself, but by vulgar error received as a sure prognostic. While Nero was at table at a villa called SUBLAQUEUM (*a*), on the borders of the Simbruine lakes, it happened that the victuals, which had been served up, received a stroke of lightning, and the banquet was overturned. The place was on the confines of Tivoli, where the ancestors of Plautus by his father's side derived their origin. The omen, for that reason, made a deeper impression, and the current opinion was, that Plautus

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was intended for imperial sway. The men, whom bold, but often misguided, ambition leads to take an active part in revolutions of government, were all on his side. To suppress a rumour so important, and big with danger, Nero sent a letter to Plautus, advising him "to consult the public tranquil-" lity, and withdraw himself from the reach " of calumny. He had patrimonial lands " in Asia, where he might pass his youth, " remote from enemies, and undisturbed " by faction." Plautus understood the hint, and with his wife, Antistia, and a few friends, embarked for Asia.

In a short time after, Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himself a load of obloquy. He chose to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters (*b*), which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient structure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place. A fit of illness, which followed this frolic, left no doubt in the minds

of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata (*a*). That city being reduced to ashes, he judged it right, while the consternation of the people was still recent, to turn his arms against Tigranocerta (*b*). The destruction of that city would spread a general panic; or, if he suffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror. He began his march, and, that the Barbarians might not be driven to despair, preserved every appearance of a pacific disposition, still maintaining discipline with the strictest rigour. He knew, by experience, that he had to do with a people prone to change; cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occasion offered, prepared, by their natural genius, for a stroke of perfidy. At the sight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variously affected. They submitted with humble supplications; they fled from their villages; they took shelter in their woods; and numbers, carrying off

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all that was dear to them, sought a retreat in their dens and caverns. To these different movements the Roman general adapted his measures; to the submissive he behaved with mercy; he ordered the fugitives to be pursued with vigour, but for such as lay hid in subterraneous places he felt no compassion. Having filled the entrances, and every vent of the caverns, with bushes and faggots, he set fire to the heap. The Barbarians perished in the flames. His march lay on the frontier of the Mardians (*c*), a race of freebooters, who lived by depredation, secure on their hills and mountains from the assaults of the enemy. They poured down from their fastnesses, and insulted the Roman army. Corbulo sent a detachment of the Iberians to lay waste their country, and thus at the expence of foreign auxiliaries, without spilling a drop of Roman blood, he punished the insolence of the enemy.

XXIV. Corbulo had suffered no loss in the field of battle; but his men, exhausted by continual toil, and forced, for want of grain and vegetables, to subsist al-

together on animal food, began to sink under their fatigue. The heat of the summer was intense; no water to allay their thirst; long and laborious marches still remained; and nothing to animate the drooping spirits of the army but the example of their general, who endured more than even the common soldiers. They reached, at length, a well cultivated country, and carried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for shelter to two strong castles. One of them was taken by storm; the other, after resisting the first assault, was by a close blockade obliged to surrender. The army marched into the territories of the Tauranitians (*a*). In that country Corbulo narrowly escaped a snare laid for his life. A Barbarian, of high distinction among his people, was found lurking with a concealed dagger near the general's tent. He was instantly seized, and, being put to the rack, not only confessed himself the author of the plot, but discovered his accomplices. The villains, who, under a mask of friendship, meditated a foul assassination, were on examination found guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Ambassadors ar-

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rived soon after from Tigranocerta, with intelligence, that their gates stood open to receive the Roman army, and the inhabitants were ready to submit at discretion. As an earnest of hospitality and friendship they presented a golden crown. Corbulo received it with all marks of honour. To conciliate the affections of the people, he did no damage to their city, and left the natives in full possession of their effects.

XXV. The royal citadel, which was considered as the strong hold of the Armenian kings, did not immediately surrender. A band of stout and resolute young men threw themselves into the place, determined to hold out to the last. They had the spirit to sally out, but, after a battle under the walls, were driven back within their lines, and, the Romans entering sword in hand, the garrison laid down their arms. This tide of success, however rapid, was in a great measure forwarded by the war, that kept the Parthians engaged in Hyrcania. From the last-mentioned country ambassadors had been sent to Rome, soliciting the alliance of the emperor, and, as an in-

ducement, urging, that, in consequence of their rupture with Vologeses, they had made a powerful diversion in favour of the Roman army: the deputies, on their way back to their own country, had an interview with Corbulo. The general received them with marks of friendship, and fearing, if they passed over the Euphrates, that they might fall in with detached parties of the Parthian army, he ordered them to be escorted, under a military guard, as far as the margin of the Red-sea (*a*). From that place, their road was at a distance from the Parthian frontier.

XXVI. MEANWHILE, Tiridates (*a*), after a march through the territory of the Medians, was hovering on the extremities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to invade the country. To counteract his motions, Corbulo dispatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces, and, to support him, made a forced march at the head of the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, and, in despair, abandoned the war. The Roman general proceeded with severity against all who were known to

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be disaffected: he carried fire and sword through their country, and took upon himself the government of Armenia. The whole kingdom was reduced to subjection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the appointment of Nero, to assume the regal diadem.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of high nobility in that country, and grandson to king Archilaus (*b*); but the length of time which he had passed at Rome in the condition of a hostage broke the vigour of his mind, and sunk him to the meanest servility. He was not received with the consent of the nation. A strong party still retained their old affection for the line of the Arsacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance, inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and assigned him a body-guard, consisting of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts from the allied forces, and two squadrons of horse. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the

country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighbouring princes, were parcelled out to Pharasmanes (*c*), to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus. Having made these arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take upon him the administration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus (*d*), the late governor.

XXVII. In the course of the same year (*a*), Laodicea, a celebrated city in Asia, was destroyed by an earthquake, and though Rome in so great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was soon rebuilt, and, by the internal resources of the inhabitants, recovered its former splendour. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian colony. The veteran soldiers, entitled to their discharge from the service, were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum, and Antium; but the measure did not increase population in those deserted places. The soldiers rambled back to the provinces, where they had formerly served, and, by the habits of a military life, being

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little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greatest part mouldered away without issue. The old system of colonisation was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each other, and by sentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a spirit of union. A colony, at the time we speak of, was no more than a motly mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from distant parts of the globe; a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony.

XXVIII. The election of prætors had been hitherto subject to the discretion of the senate; but the spirit of competition breaking out with unusual violence, Nero interposed his authority. He found three candidates more than usual. By giving to each the command of a legion (*a*) he al-

layed the ferment. He also made a considerable addition to the dignity of the senate by an ordinance, requiring that, in all appeals from an inferior judicature to that assembly, a sum equal (*b*) to what was customary in like cases before the emperor, should be deposited by the appellant, to wait the final determination. Before this rule was established, an appeal to the fathers was open to all, without being subject to costs, or any kind of penalty. Towards the end of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was accused by the Moors (*c*) of rapine and extortion, and, being found guilty of the charge, was banished out of Italy. For so mild a sentence he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Vibius Crispus (*d*).

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XXIX. During the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus (*a*), a dreadful calamity befel the army in Britain. Aulus Didius (*b*), as has been mentioned, aimed at no extension of territory, content with maintaining the conquest already made. Veranius, who succeeded him, did little more: he made a few in-

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cursions into the country of the Silures (*c*), and was hindered by death from prosecuting the war with vigour. He had been respected, during his life, for the severity of his manners; in his end, the mask fell off, and his last will discovered the low ambition of a servile flatterer, who, in those moments, could offer incense to Nero, and add, with vain ostentation, that, if he lived two years, it was his design to make the whole island obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius succeeded to the command; an officer of distinguished merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretensions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raised him to the highest eminence. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view, he resolved to subdue the isle of Mona (*d*); a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the discontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-bot-

tomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the shallows, and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

XXX. On the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the furies. The Druids (*a*) were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, rivetted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic priests; they advanced their standards,

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and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames, which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In those recesses, the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. Prasutagus (*a*), the late king of the Icenians, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal shares, conceiving, by that stroke of policy, that he should provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwise. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the slaves pillaged his house, and his effects were

seized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes; her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained

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to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To over-run a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstasy rushed among the people, and with

frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans (*a*) hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony (*b*) in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and, at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the mean time, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no pallisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of

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the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his entrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom by rapine and oppression he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London (*a*); a place not dignified with the name of a colony,

but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium (*b*), a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill was not the talent of Barbarians. The num-

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ber massacred in the places which have been mentioned, amounted to no less than seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make prisoners, and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people, who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and desolation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies.

XXXIV. The fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than ten thousand men. Thus reinforced, he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action. For this purpose he chose a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front. An open plain lay before him.

He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in close array formed the centre; the light armed troops were stationed at hand to serve as occasion might require: the cavalry took post in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and loose battalions displayed their numbers, in frantic transport bounding with exultation, and so sure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might survey the scene of action, and behold the wonders of British valour.

XXXV. BOADICEA (*a*), in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks. She harangued the different nations in their turn: "This," she said, "is not the first time that the Britons "have been led to battle by a woman. "But now she did not come to boast the "pride of a long line of ancestry, nor even "to recover her kingdom and the plun-"dered wealth of her family. She took

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" the field, like the meanest among them,
" to assert the cause of public liberty, and
" to seek revenge for her body seamed with
" ignominious stripes, and her two daugh-
" ters infamously ravished. From the pride
" and arrogance of the Romans nothing is
" sacred; all are subject to violation; the
" old endure the scourge, and the virgins
" are deflowered. But the vindictive gods
" are now at hand. A Roman legion
" dared to face the warlike Britons: with
" their lives they paid for their rashness;
" those who survived the carnage of that
" day, lie poorly hid behind their entrench-
" ments, meditating nothing but how to
" save themselves by an ignominious flight.
" From the din of preparation, and the
" shouts of the British army, the Romans,
" even now, shrink back with terror. What
" will be their case when the assault be-
" gins? Look round, and view your num-
" bers. Behold the proud display of war-
" like spirits, and consider the motives for
" which we draw the avenging sword. On
" this spot we must either conquer, or
" die with glory. There is no alternative.

" Though a woman, my resolution is fixed: " the men, if they please, may survive with " infamy, and live in bondage."

XXXVI. SUETONIUS, in a moment of such importance, did not remain silent. He expected every thing from the valour of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inspire and animate them to the attack. " Despise," he said, " the savage " uproar, the yells and shouts of undisci- " plined Barbarians. In that mixed multi- " tude, the women out-number the men. " Void of spirit, unprovided with arms, " they are not soldiers who come to offer " battle; they are dastards, runaways, the " refuse of your swords, who have often " fled before you, and will again betake " themselves to flight when they see the " conqueror flaming in the ranks of war. " In all engagements it is the valour of a " few that turns the fortune of the day. It " will be your immortal glory, that with a " scanty number you can equal the ex- " ploits of a great and powerful army. " Keep your ranks; discharge your ja- " velins; rush forward to a close at-

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"tack; bear down all with your bucklers, "and hew a passage with your swords. "Pursue the vanquished, and never think "of spoil and plunder. Conquer, and vic- "tory gives you every thing." This speech was received with warlike acclamations. The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, the veterans brandished their javelins, and the ranks displayed such an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the signal for the charge.

XXXVII. The engagement began. The Roman legion presented a close embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced with ferocity, and discharged their darts at random. In that instant, the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour. The cavalry, at the same time, bore down upon the enemy, and, with their pikes, overpowered all who dared to make a stand. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but their waggons in the rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful

slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. According to some writers, not less than eighty thousand Britons were put to the sword. The Romans lost about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a dose of poison, put a period to her life. Pænius Posthumus, præfect in the camp (*a*) of the second legion, as soon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell upon his sword, and expired on the spot.

XXXVIII. Suetonius called in all his forces, and, having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readiness for new emergencies, intending not to close the campaign till he put an end to the

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war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts (*a*), and a thousand horse, arrived from Germany. By this accession of strength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were sent into new quarters, and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hostility, or were suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the evil that chiefly distressed the enemy: employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to seize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cause of liberty, they were rendered still more obstinate by the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Roman generals. Julius Classicianus had succeeded to the post vacant by the sudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not scruple to sacrifice the public good to private animosity. He spread a report, that another commander

in chief might be soon expected, and in him the Britons would find a man, who would bring with him neither ill will to the natives, nor the pride of victory. The vanquished would, by consequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Classicianus did not stop here: in his dispatches to Rome, he pressed the necessity of recalling Suetonius. The war would, otherwise, never be brought to a conclusion by an officer, who owed all his disasters to his own want of conduct, and his success to the good fortune of the empire.

XXXIX. In consequence of these complaints, Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was sent from Rome to inquire into the state of Britain. The weight and authority of such a messenger, Nero flattered himself, would produce a reconciliation between the hostile generals, and dispose the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus set out with a large retinue, and, on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burthen to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the

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Roman soldiers; but his magnificent airs and assumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those ferocious islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought with valour, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondsman. In the report made by this man the state of affairs was such as gave no jealousy to Nero. Suetonius, therefore, was continued in his government. It happened, in a short time afterwards, that a few ships were wrecked on the coast, and all on board perished in the waves. This was considered as a calamity of war, and, on that account, Suetonius was recalled. Petronius Turpilianus, whose consulship had just then expired, succeeded to the command. Under him a languid state of tranquillity followed. The general saw the passive disposition of the Britons, and not to provoke hostilities

was the rule of his conduct. He remained inactive, content to decorate his want of enterprise with the name of peace.

XL. This year was remarkable for two atrocious crimes; one, the act of a senator, and the other perpetrated by the daring spirit of a slave. Domitius Balbus, of prætorian rank, was, at that time, far advanced in years. His wealth, and his want of issue, made him obnoxious to the arts of ill-designing men. His relation, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and likely to obtain the first honours of the state, forged his will. To give colour to the fraud, he drew into his plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman knights, who chose to act in concert with Antonius Primus (*a*) and Asinius Marcellus. Antonius was a prompt and daring spirit, ready for any mischief. Marcellus was grandson to the renowned Asinius Pollio: his character was, till that time, without a stain; but his favourite maxim was, that poverty (*b*) is the worst of evils. In the presence of those conspirators, and other witnesses of inferior note,

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Fabianus sealed the will. The fraud being brought to light before the senate, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, namely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law (*c*). Marcellus found in the favour of the prince, and the dignity of his ancestors, a powerful protection. He was saved from punishment, not from infamy.

XLI. The same day was fatal to two others of rank and distinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man who had already passed with honour through the office of quæstor, was charged as an accessary in the guilt of Fabianus. He was banished, not only from Italy, but from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Ponticus met with equal severity. The crime alleged against him was, that, with a design to elude the jurisdiction of the præfect of Rome, he had accused several delinquents before the prætor; intending, in the first instance, under colour of a legal process, and afterwards, by abandoning the prosecution, to defeat the ends of justice. The fathers

added a clause to their decree, whereby all persons concerned either in procuring or conducting for hire a collusive action, were to be treated as public prevaricators (*a*), and to suffer the pains and penalties inflicted by the law on such as stood convicted of a false and calumnious accusation.

XLII. The second daring crime that marked the year, as mentioned above, was the act of a slave. This man murdered his master, Pedanius Secundus, at that time præfect of the city. His motive for this desperate act was either because his liberty, after a bargain made (*a*), was still withheld, or being enamoured of a foreign pathic, he could not endure his master as his rival. Every slave in the family where the murder was committed, was by ancient usage subject to capital punishment; but the populace, touched with compassion for so many innocent men, opposed the execution with rage and tumult little short of a seditious insurrection. In the senate many of the fathers embraced the popular side, but the ma-

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jority declared for the rigour of the law without innovation. In the debate on this occasion (*b*), Caius Cassius spoke to the following effect:

XLIII. "I HAVE been often present, "conscript fathers, when motions have "been made in this assembly for new de- "crees, repugnant of the laws in being, "and utterly subversive of all ancient "establishments. To those measures I made "no opposition, though well convinced, "that the regulations made by our an- "cestors were the best, the wisest, the "most conducive to the public good. To "change that system is to change for "the worse. This has ever been my set- "tled opinion; but I forbore to take a "part in your debates, that I might not "be thought bigoted either to antiquity, "or to my own way of thinking. I had "another reason for my conduct. The "weight and influence which I flattered "myself I had acquired in this assembly, "might, by frequently troubling you, lose "its effect. I determined, therefore, to "reserve myself for some important con-

" juncture, when my feeble voice might be
" of use. That conjuncture occurs this
" very day. A man of consular rank, with-
" out a friend to assist him, without any
" one person to oppose the ruffian's blow,
" no notice given, no discovery made,
" has been in his own house barbarously
" murdered. The law which dooms every
" slave under the roof to execution, is still
" in force. Repeal that law, and, if you
" will, let this horrible deed pass with im-
" punity; but when you have done it,
" which of us can think himself safe? Who
" can depend on his rank or dignity, when
" the first magistrate of your city dies
" under the assassin's stroke? Who can
" hope to live in security amongst his
" slaves, when so large a number as four
" hundred could not defend Pedanius Se-
" cundus? Will our domestics assist us in
" the hour of need, when we see, in the
" instance before us, that neither their
" own danger nor the terrors of the law
" could induce them to protect their ma-
" ster? Will it be said that the murderer
" struck his blow to revenge a personal in-
" jury? What was the injury? The pater-

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" nal estate of a ruffian, perhaps, was in
" danger; or the foreign pathic, whom
" they were going to ravish from him, de-
" scended to him from his ancestors. If
" that be so, the deed was lawful, and, by
" consequence, we, conscript fathers, ought
" to pronounce it justifiable homicide.

XLIV. " But let me ask you; are we,
" at this time of day, to support by argu-
" ment, what has been long settled by the
" wisdom of ages? Suppose the point in
" dispute were a new question, to be now
" decided for the first time: can we ima-
" gine that a ruffian, who had formed
" a black design to murder his master,
" kept the whole so closely locked up in
" his breast, that, in the agitations of a
" guilty mind, nothing escaped from him?
" Not a menace, not so much as a rash
" word to give the alarm? Nothing, we
" are told of this sort happened; we are
" to believe that the assassin brooded over
" his horrible purpose in sullen silence;
" that he prepared his dagger unseen by
" every eye, and that his fellow-slaves
" knew nothing of it. Be it so; did he pass

" unseen through the train of attendants
" that guarded the bed-chamber? Did he
" open the door unperceived by all? Did
" he enter with a light, and strike the
" mortal blow, without the knowledge of
" any person whatever?

" Between the first design, and the final
" execution of evil deeds, symptoms of
" guilt are often seen. If our slaves are
" faithful, if they give timely intelligence,
" we may live secure in our houses; or if
" we must fall by the murderer's dagger,
" it is a satisfaction to know, that justice
" will overtake the guilty. The mind and
" temper of the slave, though born on the
" master's estate, or even in his house, im-
" bibing with his first milk affection and
" gratitude to the family, were always su-
" spected by our ancestors. At present,
" we have in our service whole nations of
" slaves; the scum of mankind, collected
" from all quarters of the globe; a race of
" men, who bring with them foreign rites,
" and the religion of their country, or, pro-
" bably, no religion at all. In such a
" conflux, if the laws are silent, what pro-

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" tection remains for the master? But, it " is said, the innocent may suffer with the " guilty. To this I answer, when an army, " seized with a general panic, turns its " back on the enemy, and, to restore " military discipline, the men are drawn " out and decimated; what distinction is " then made between the gallant soldier " and the coward, who fled from his post? " In political justice there is often some- " thing not strictly right: but partial evil " is counterbalanced by the good of the " whole."

XLV. To this reasoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. The number doomed to suffer, their age, their sex, and the undoubted innocence of the greatest part, awakened sentiments of compassion; but the majority was for letting the law (*a*) take its course. Their opinion prevailed. The popular cry was still for mercy. The rabble rose in a tumultuous body, and with stones and firebrands stopped the execution. To quell their fury, Nero issued a proclamation, and by his order the streets

were lined with soldiers under arms. The unhappy victims suffered death. Cingonius Varro moved, that even the freedmen, who were actually in the house at the time of the murder, should, by a decree of the senate, be banished out of Italy. To this Nero answered, that since mercy was not allowed to mitigate the system of ancient laws, to increase their rigour by new pains and penalties, would be an act of cruelty.

XLVI. During the same consulship, Tarquitius Priscus, at the suit of the people of Bithynia, was convicted of extortion, and condemned to make restitution. The senate remembered the violence of this man in the prosecution against Statilius Taurus (*a*), his own proconsul in Africa, and now retaliated with a vindictive spirit. The people in both the Gauls were reviewed and rated by Quintus Volusius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus. The two former, elate with family-pride, passed their time in mutual jealousy, thwarting each other, and struggling for pre-eminence. They looked down

BOOK XIV. A. U. C. 814. A. D. 61. with contempt on Trebellius; but their petty animosities served only to degrade themselves, and give to their colleague a decided superiority.

XLVII. In the course of this year died Memmius Regulus, distinguished by his virtues, and his unblemished character. Admired for his constancy and unshaken firmness, he rose to as high a pitch of credit and authority, as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a shade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illness, the tribe of sycophants, fluttering about his person, poured forth the anguish of their hearts, and, "if any thing happened "to the emperor, the day," they said, "that "put a period to his life, would be the last "of the empire." "No," replied the prince, "a pillar of the state will still remain." The courtiers stood at gaze, wondering who that person could be; Nero told them, "Memmius Regulus is the man." Strange as it may seem, Regulus survived that

opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whose family had lately risen to honours, gave no alarm; and his fortune raised no envy. It was in the same year that Nero dedicated a gymnasium (*a*), or public school for athletic exercises, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the senators and Roman knights, without any expence on their part, should be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

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XLVIII. During the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius, a prosecution was set on foot against Antistius, then invested with the office of prætor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people (*a*), has been already mentioned. The charge against him was, that being the author of sarcastic verses against the emperor, he produced his poem to a large company at the table of Ostorius Scapula. For this libel he was arraigned on the law of majesty. The cause was conducted by Cossutianus Capito (*b*), who had been lately

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raised, by the interest of Tigellinus, his father-in-law, to the senatorian order. The law of majesty had fallen into disuse, and was now revived, for the first time in the reign of Nero, not, as was imagined, to make Antistius feel its severity, but, in fact, to give the emperor an opportunity, after judgment of death was passed, to interpose his tribunitian (*c*) authority, and, by preventing the execution, add new lustre to his name. Ostorius Scapula was called as a witness. He remembered nothing of the verses in question. The evidence of others was believed, and, thereupon, Junius Marcellus, consul elect, moved, that the criminal, divested in the first instance of his prætorship, should suffer death according to the laws in force (*d*), and the practice under former emperors. The rest of the senate concurring in the same opinion, Pætus Thrasea rose to oppose the motion. He began with honourable mention of the prince, nor did he take upon him to defend the conduct of Antistius. On the contrary, he blamed the licentious spirit of the man in terms of severity; but under a virtuous emperor, and, in a senate

left to act with independance, the question, he said, was not the magnitude of the crime, nor what punishment the rigour of the law would warrant. The executioner, the gibbet, and the halter were, for some time, unknown at Rome. Other pains and penalties were provided by law, and those might be inflicted, without branding the judges with cruelty, and the age with infamy. Antistius may be condemned to banishment; his effects may be confiscated. Let him pass the remainder of his days in one of the islands. His life, in that situation, will be protracted misery. He will there continue to languish in exile, a burthen to himself, yet a living monument of the equity and moderation of the times.

XLIX. The firmness with which Thrasea delivered his sentiments inspired the senate with the same ardour. The consul put the question, and the fathers divided (*a*). The majority voted with Thrasea. The dissentients were but a small number. Amongst them was Aulus Vitellius (*b*), of all the flattering crew, the most corrupt

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and servile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the most eminent characters, and ever sure, with the confusion of a little mind, to shrink from the reply. He heard his adversary with silent patience. The consuls, however, did not presume to close the business by a decree in form: they chose to make their report to the emperor, and wait his pleasure. Nero, for some time, balanced between shame and resentment. At length his answer was, "That "Antistius, without provocation, or any "cause of complaint, had distilled the "venom of his pen on the name and cha- "racter of his sovereign. The matter had "been referred to the senate, and justice "required a punishment adequate to the "crime. Nevertheless, as it had been "from the first his resolution to mitigate "a rigorous sentence, he would not now "controul the moderation of the fathers. "They might determine, as to their wis- "dom should seem meet. They were even "at liberty to acquit the criminal alto- "gether." From this answer it was evident, that the conduct of the senate had given offence at court. The consuls, how-

ever, were not inclined to alter their report. Thrasea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of sentiment, to expose the prince to the popular odium; others thought themselves safe in a large majority; and Thrasea, with his usual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. On a charge of the same complexion as the former, Fabricius Veiento (*a*) was involved in similar danger. In certain writings, which he called the LAST WILLS of persons deceased, he had inserted strokes of satire reflecting on several members of the senate, and others of the sacerdotal order. Talius Geminus was the prosecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal abused his credit at court, and disposed of the favours of the prince, and the honours of the state, by bargain and sale, for his own private emolument. This last article roused the resentment of Nero; he removed the cause to his own tribunal. Veiento was banished out of

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Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly sought, and universally read. Men perused with avidity what was procured with danger. When no longer prohibited, the work sunk into oblivion.

LI. MEANWHILE, the public grievances went on with increasing violence, and the means of redress diminished every day. Burrhus died at this time, whether in the course of nature, or by poison, cannot now be known. The general opinion ascribed his death to a fit of illness. He was seized with a disorder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands swelling to a prodigious size, suffocation followed. There was, however, a current report, that, under a pretence of administering a proper gargle, poison was mixed in the medicine, by order of Nero, and that Burrhus, having discovered the villany, as soon as he perceived the prince entering his room, turned from him with aversion, and to all enquiries shortly answered, "I am well at "present." He died universally lamented. His virtues were long remembered, and

long regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated by the two persons, who succeeded to his employments, namely Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus (*a*), the former a man of undoubted innocence, but the innocence that proceeds from want of spirit. Tigellinus stood distinguished by a life of debauchery, and the infamy of his character. Rufus owed his advancement to the voice of the people, who were pleased with his upright management of the public stores. Tigellinus was a favourite of the emperor. The early vices of the man recommended him to notice. The command of the prætorian guards, which had been entrusted to Burrhus only, was granted to those two by a joint commission. The impression, which they had given of their characters, was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an absolute ascendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all scenes of revelry he was a constant companion. Rufus obtained the good-will of the soldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

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LII. By the death of Burrhus, Seneca lost the chief support of his power. The friend of upright measures was snatched away, and virtue could no longer make head against the corruption of a court, governed altogether by the wild and profligate. By that set of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. "His wealth was exorbitant, "above the condition of a private citizen; "and yet his unappeasable avarice went "on without intermission, every day grasping at more. His rage for popularity "was no less violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his "gardens, hoped to vie with imperial "splendour. In matters of taste and genius he allows no rival. He claims the "whole province of eloquence as his own; "and since Nero shewed his taste for "poetry, from that moment Seneca began "to court the muse (*a*), and he too has his "copy of verses.

"To the other diversions of the prince

" he is an avowed, an open enemy. The " skill of the charioteer provokes his rail- " lery; he sneers at the management of " horses; and the melody of the prince's " voice is a subject for his wit and ridicule. " In all this what is his drift? Why truly, " that, in the whole extent of the empire, " there should be nothing worthy of praise " but what flows from his superior talents. " But Nero is no longer the pupil of this " subtle philosopher; he has attained the " prime season of manhood, and may " now discard his tutor. He has before " his eyes the brightest model for his con- " duct, the example of his own illustrious " ancestors."

LIII. These insidious arts were not unknown to Seneca. There were still at court a few in the interests of virtue, and from such men he received intelligence of all that passed. Finding that the prince had withdrawn his friendship, and no longer admitted him to his conversation, he demanded an audience, and spoke to the following effect; " It is now, Cæsar, the four- " teenth year, since I was placed near

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" your person; of your reign it is the
" eighth. In that space of time you have
" lavished upon me both wealth and ho-
" nours, with so liberal an hand, that to
" complete my happiness nothing now is
" necessary but moderation and content-
" ment. In the humble request, which I
" presume to make, I shall take the liberty
" to cite a few examples, far, indeed, above
" my condition, but worthy of you. Au-
" gustus, your illustrious ancestor, per-
" mitted Marcus Agrippa to retire to Mi-
" tylene (*a*); he allowed Mæcenas to live
" almost a stranger in Rome, and in the
" heart of the city (*b*) to dwell as it were in
" solitude. The former of those illustrious
" men had been the companion of his
" wars; the latter supported the weight of
" his administration: both, it is true, re-
" ceived ample rewards, but rewards fairly
" earned by great and eminent services.
" For myself, if you except some attain-
" ments in literature, the fruit of studies
" pursued in the shade of retirement, what
" merit can I assume? My feeble talents
" are supposed to have seasoned your
" mind with the first tincture of letters,

" and that honour is beyond all recom- BOOK XIV.
" pense.

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" But your liberality knows no bounds.
" You have loaded me with favours, and
" with riches. When I reflect on your ge-
" nerosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of
" my level, without family pretensions, the
" son of a simple knight, born in a distant
" province (*c*), presume to rank with the
" grandees of Rome? My name, the name
" of a new man, figures among those who
" boast a long and splendid line of ances-
" tors. Where is now the mind, which
" long since knew, that to be content with
" little is true happiness? The philoso-
" pher is employed in laying out gar-
" dens (*d*), and improving pleasure-grounds.
" He delights in the extent of ample villas;
" he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums
" of money (*e*) laid out at interest. I have
" but one apology; your munificence was
" a command, and it was not for me to
" resist.

LIV. " But the measure of generosity
" on your part, and submission on mine, is

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"now complete. What a prince could
"give, you have bestowed; what a friend
"could take, I have received. More will
"only serve to irritate envy, and inflame
"the malice of my enemies. You indeed
"tower above the passions of ill designing
"men; I am open to their attacks; I
"stand in need of protection. In a cam-
"paign, or on a march, if I found myself
"fatigued and worn out with toil, I should
"not hesitate to sue for some indulgence.
"Life is a state of warfare; it is a long
"campaign, in which a man in years, sink-
"ing under a load of cares, and even by
"his riches made obnoxious, may crave
"leave to retire. I am willing to resign
"my wealth: let the auditors of the impe-
"rial revenue take the account, and let the
"whole return to its fountain-head. By
"this act of self-denial I shall not be re-
"duced to poverty; I shall part with that
"superfluity which glitters in the eyes of
"my enemies; and for the rest, the time,
"which is spent in the improving of gar-
"dens, and the embellishing of villas, I
"shall transfer to myself, and for the
"future lay it out in the cultivation of

" my mind. You are in the vigour of your
" days; a long train of years lies before
" you. In full possession of the sovereign
" power you have learned the art of reign-
" ing. Old age may be permitted to seek
" repose. It will, hereafter, be your glory,
" that you knew how to choose men of
" moderation, who could descend from the
" summit of fortune, to dwell with peace
" and humble content in the vale of life."

LV. NERO replied as follows: " If I
" give an immediate answer to a speech of
" prepared eloquence, the power of doing
" it I derive from you. The faculty of
" speaking, not only when the matter has
" been premeditated, but also on sudden
" occasions, I possess (if I do possess it) by
" your care and instruction. Augustus, it
" is true, released Agrippa and Mæcenas
" from the fatigue of business; but he did
" it, at a time, when his authority was
" established on the firmest basis, and his
" own experience was equal to the cares of
" government. He did not, however, re-
" sume the grants which he had made.
" What those eminent citizens obtained,

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" they deserved in war and civil commo-
" tions; for in those busy scenes Augustus
" passed his youth. Had my lot been the
" same, your sword would not have been
" idle. What the conjuncture demanded,
" you supplied; you formed my mind to
" science, and you assisted me with your
" wisdom and advice. The advantages
" which I derive from you are not of a pe-
" rishable nature; they will cleave to me
" through life. As to the favours which
" it was in my power to grant, such as
" houses, gardens, and sums of money, they
" are precarious gifts, subject to accidents
" and the caprice of fortune. Presents of
" that kind may seem magnificent; but
" they fall short of what I have bestowed
" on others, who had neither your accom-
" plishments, nor your merit. I could
" mention freedmen, who flourish in higher
" splendour; but I blush to name them.
" I blush, that you, who are the first in my
" esteem, should not, at the same time, be
" the first man in my dominions.

LVI. " I GRANT that you are advanced
" in years, but the vigour of your constitu-

" tion is still unbroken. You are equal to business, and the fruit of your labours you can still enjoy. My reign is but just begun; and what has been my liberality? Vitellius was three times consul (*a*), and Claudius was his friend: are you to be deemed inferior to the former? and must I, in point of munificence, yield to the latter? Volusius (*b*), by a long life of parsimony, raised an immoderate fortune; and shall not my generosity put you on a level with a man of that description? The impetuosity of youth may hurry me beyond the bounds of prudence: it will then be yours to recal my wandering steps, and lead me to the paths of honour. You helped to form my youthful understanding, and to what you polished you still can give life and energy. If you resign your wealth, can you suppose that your moderation will be deemed the cause? If you desert your prince, will your love of quiet be thought the motive? Far otherwise: my avarice will be arraigned; my cruelty will be the general topic. The praise, indeed, of wisdom may pursue you in

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"your retreat; but will it be generous to
"build your fame on the disgrace and ruin
"of your friend?"

To this flattering speech Nero added fond embraces, and all the external marks of affection. Inclined by nature to disguise his sentiments, and by habit exercised in the arts of dissimulation, he knew how to hide under the surface of friendship the secret malice of his heart. Seneca answered in a submissive tone. He returned his best thanks, the usual close of every conference in the cabinet of the prince. He resolved, however, to change his mode of living: he resigned his power, and retained no appearance of his former splendour; the crowd of visitors no longer frequented his house; he dismissed his train of followers, and but rarely appeared abroad, willing to be considered as an infirm old man, obliged to take care of his health at home, or a philosopher, absorbed in abstract speculations.

LVII. SENECA's influence was now in its wane. To ruin the credit of Fenius

Rufus was the next object. In this his enemies found no difficulty. The crime of being attached to Agrippina was sufficient. Tigellinus, in the mean time, rose to the highest pitch of credit and influence at court. Possessing a genius for every mischief, and having no other talents, he resolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices, he had no doubt, would render him still more dear to his master. With this view he began to watch the passions of Nero, and to explore the secrets of his heart. He found that the two persons whom the emperor dreaded most were Plautus (*a*) and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Asia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the east; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could ensure the safety of the

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prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity they might be crushed in the bud. But for distant provinces who could answer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouse and animate the people of Gaul. In Asia the grandson of Drusus (*b*) would have a number of adherents, and might, by consequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla, indeed, was indigent and distressed: but his very poverty would be a source of courage, a motive for vigorous enterprise; and though he seemed to languish in repose and indolence, his love of ease was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark designs.

Plautus, on the other hand, possessed immoderate wealth. To lead a sluggish life was not in his temper or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his austerity added the maxims of the stoic sect: a sect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reasoning Nero was

convinced. No delay intervened. Assassins were dispatched. On the sixth day they landed at Marseilles, where, without notice, or so much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by surprise at his own table, and instantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amused himself with the sight; he saw that the hairs were grown grey before their time, and in that circumstance found a subject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. The murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal secrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote; a voyage was to be performed, and, in the mean time, the plot began to transpire. A report prevailed at Rome, that Plautus had put himself under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted victim. The rumour further added, that in favour of Plautus all Asia was up in arms, and that the ruffians sent from Rome had either

BOOK XIV. failed in their resolution, or, not finding themselves in force, had gone over to the opposite party. The whole story was without foundation; but, according to custom, credulity swallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the mean time, received intelligence of the design against his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, got the start of the centurions dispatched by Nero. This faithful servant was sent by Lucius Antistius, his master's father-in-law, with advice, that no time was to be lost. In such a crisis, sloth would ill become a man whose life was in danger. To fall a tame and passive victim were to die an ignominious death. He had but to exert his most strenuous efforts, and good men, touched with compassion, would espouse his cause. The bold and turbulent would be sure to join him. Nothing should be left untried. It was only necessary to defeat sixty men (for that was the number employed in this bloody tragedy): before Nero could receive intelligence, and dispatch another band of ruffians, there would be time to concert bold

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and vigorous measures. The flame of war might be kindled all over Asia, and, by this resolute conduct, he might save his life. At the worst, by daring bravely, his case would not be more desperate. Courage might suffer, but it could not suffer more than cowardice.

LIX. This spirited advice had no effect on Plautus. Banished from his country, without arms, or any means of defence, he saw no gleam of hope, and was, therefore, unwilling to be the dupe of visionary schemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife and children softened and disarmed his mind. The emperor, if not exasperated by resistance, he imagined, would act with lenity towards his unhappy family. According to some historians, the advice sent by Antistius was of a different tendency, importing that there was no danger to alarm him. We are further told, that, by the exhortations of two philosophers, by name Cæranus (*a*), a Greek by birth, and Musonius, of Tuscan origin, he had been taught that, though life is a series of toil, and danger, and calamity, to wait with pa-

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tience till the stroke of death delivered him from a scene of misery, would be heroic fortitude. Thus much is certain, he was surprised by the assassins in the middle of the day, disarmed and naked, attending to the refreshment and exercise of his body.

In that condition a centurion dispatched him, while Pelagon, one of the eunuchs, stood a spectator of the tragic scene. This wretch was sent by Nero to superintend the ruffians, like the minister of a despotic prince, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to see his master's orders strictly executed. The head of the deceased was carried to Rome. At the sight of the dismal object the emperor cried out (I give his very words), "Nero, now you may "safely marry Poppæa. What obstacle "remains to defer a match, long intended, "and often deferred on account of this "very Plautus, and men of his descrip-"tion? Octavia may be divorced without "delay: her conduct, it is true, has been "blameless, but the imperial name of her "father (*b*), and the esteem of the people,

" have made her in my eyes an object of " terror and detestation." Having thus fortified his mind, he dispatched a letter to the senate, written in guarded terms, without so much as glancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He mentioned them both, charging them with seditious machinations, by which he himself was kept in a constant alarm, lest some dreadful convulsion should, by their means, shake the empire to its foundation. The fathers decreed public vows and supplications to the gods. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being, were expelled the senate; and with this mockery, to every good mind more grievous than the worst oppression, the people were amused and insulted.

LX. Nero finding, by the slavish tenor of the decree, that the fathers were willing to transform his vices into virtues, resolved to balance no longer. He repudiated Octavia, alleging her sterility for his reason, and immediately married Poppæa. This woman, some time the concubine of the emperor, and now his wife, continued to govern him with unbounded sway. Not content with her new dignity, she suborned

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a domestic servant of Octavia to charge his mistress with a dishonourable intrigue with one of her slaves. For this purpose they chose for the pretended adulterer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, remarkable for his skill on the flute. The female servants were put to the torture. Some of them, overcome by pain and agony, confessed whatever was demanded of them; but the greatest part persevered, with constancy, to vindicate the honour of their mistress. Tigellinus stood near at hand, pressing them with questions. One of them had the spirit to answer, "The person of Octavia is "freer from pollution than your mouth." Sentence was pronounced against Octavia. With no more ceremony than what is usual among citizens of ordinary rank, she was dismissed from the palace. The house of Burrhus, and the estates of Plautus, two fatal presents! were allotted for her separate use. She was soon after banished to Campania, under a military guard. Murmurs of discontent were heard in every quarter of Rome. The common people spoke out without reserve. To rules of caution and political wisdom their rough

manners made them strangers, and the meanness of their condition left them nothing to fear. Their clamours were so loud and violent, that Nero gave orders to recall Octavia, but without affection, and without remorse.

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LXI. The populace, transported with joy by this event, pressed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up their thanks to the gods. The statues of Poppæa were dashed to the ground, while those of Octavia, adorned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in triumph on men's shoulders, and placed in the forum and in the temples. The multitude went in a tumultuous body to greet the emperor; they surrounded his palace; they desired him to come forth and receive their congratulations. A band of soldiers rushed forth sword in hand, and obliged the crowd to disperse. Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was restored to its place, and the statues of Poppæa were once more erected. But her malice to Octavia was not to be appeased. To inveterate hatred she added her dread of a popular insurrection, in consequence

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of which, Nero might be compelled to renounce his passion for her person.

She threw herself at his feet: "I am "not now," she said, "in a situation to "contend for our nuptial union, though "dearer to me than life itself. But my "life is in danger. The slaves and fol- "lowers of Octavia, calling their own cla- "mour the voice of the people, have com- "mitted, in a time of profound peace, "public outrages little short of open re- "bellion. They are in arms against their "sovereign. They want nothing but a "leader, and, in civil commotions, that "want is soon supplied. What has Oc- "tavia now to do, but to leave her retreat "in Campania, and shew herself to the "people of Rome? She, who in her ab- "sence can raise a tumult so fierce and "violent, will soon discover the extent of "her power. But what is my crime? "What have I committed? Whom have I "offended? The people may see me the "mother of legitimate heirs to the house of "Cæsar; but, perhaps, they would fain "reserve the imperial dignity for the issue

" of an Ægyptian minstrel (*a*). Submit to " Octavia, since your interest will have it " so: recall her to your embrace, but do it " voluntarily, that the rabble may not give " the law to their sovereign. You must " either adopt that measure, or, by just " vengeance on the guilty, provide for your " own safety and the public peace. The " first alarm was easily quelled; a second " insurrection may prove fatal. Should " the mob have reason to despair of seeing " Octavia the partner of Nero's bed, they " may, in their wisdom, find for her an- " other husband."

LXII. This artful speech, tending at once to inflame the prince with resentment, and alarm his fears, had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed emotions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guilty with one of her slaves, was a device of which men could be no longer made the dupes. The firmness of her servants on the rack removed even the shadow of suspicion. A new stratagem was now to be tried. A man was to be found who would dare to confess the guilt; and if the same

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person could, with some colour of probability, be charged with a conspiracy against the state, the plot would lie the deeper. For this dark design, no one so fit as Anicetus (*a*), the commander of the fleet at Misenum, and the murderer of the prince's mother. This officer, for some time after that atrocious deed, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor, but soon experienced the common fate of all pernicious miscreants: he was favoured at first, and detested afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when their turn is served, to consider their tools as a living reproach, and standing witnesses against themselves. Nero summoned Anicetus to his presence: he thanked him for services already performed. "By "you," he said, "I was delivered from the "snares of an ambitious mother. A deed "of greater moment still remains. Set me "free from the furious spirit of an impe- "rious wife. To effect this you need not "so much as raise your hand. Neither "sword nor dagger will be wanted. Con- "fess yourself guilty of adultery with Oc- "tavia; I ask no more." He concluded with a promise of ample rewards, to be

managed, indeed, with secresy, but without bound or measure, and, in the end, a safe retreat in some delightful country. "And now," he said, "accept the offers "which I have made, or certain death "awaits you." BOOK XIV. A. U. C. 815. A. D. 62.

Anicetus undertook the business. Practised in guilt, and by the success of his former crimes inspired with courage, he went even beyond his commission. In the presence of certain chosen persons, whom Nero summoned to a secret council, he told his story with circumstances that shewed he had no need of a prompter. He was banished to the island of Sardinia. At that place he continued to live in affluence, and died, at last, in the course of nature.

LXIII. NERO issued a proclamation, declaring the guilt of Octavia, and, in express terms, averring, that, to obtain the command of the fleet at Misenum, she had prostituted her person to Anicetus. He added, that, by the use of medicines to procure abortion, she had thrown a veil

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over her adulterous commerce. In this public declaration, the objection on account of sterility, so lately urged, was no more remembered. The facts, however, were said to be clearly proved. She was banished to the isle of Pandataria (*a*). The public mind was never so deeply touched with compassion. The banishment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia (*b*), in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all: but those two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or, at least, assuage the sense of present evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to an house, where she could discover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poison (*c*), and her brother, in a short time afterwards, destroyed by the same detestable machination. She saw herself superseded by the

allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself, and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death. At the time when the storm burst upon her, she was only in the twentieth year of her age, and even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the custody of centurions and soldiers. Her present afflictions, she plainly saw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was still denied to her.

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LXIV. In a few days afterwards she received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified, she descended to supplications; she admitted herself to be a widow; she claimed no higher title than that of the emperor's sister (*a*); she invoked the race of Germanicus, the common ancestors of Nero and herself, and, in the anguish of her heart, regretted even Agrippina, during

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whose life, she said, her marriage would have been a state of wretchedness, but would not have brought her to an untimely end. Amidst these effusions of sorrow, the ruffians seized her, and, having bound her limbs, opened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear, and did not issue at the wound. The assassins carried her to a bath of intense heat, where she was suffocated by the vapour. To complete the horror of this barbarous tragedy, her head was cut off, and sent to Rome, to glut the eyes of Poppæa.

Such were the transactions, for which the fathers decreed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in this place, that the reader of this, or any other history of those disastrous times, may know, once for all, that as often as banishment, or a bloody execution was ordered, the senate never failed to thank the gods for their bounty. Those solemn acts, which, in the earlier periods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the people for increasing happiness, were now profanely and abominably converted to memorials of horror and public

misery. This may be received as a general truth; and yet, whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either for a new strain of adulation, or the base servility of the times, it is my intention not to pass it by in silence.

LXV. In the course of this year, Nero is said to have destroyed by poison the most considerable of his freedmen. Among these, Doryphorus had opposed the marriage with Poppæa, and for that crime lost his life. Pallas was in possession of exorbitant wealth; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches (*a*). Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavoured, by clandestine calumny, to accomplish the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philosopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piso; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled upon the accuser. By this incident Piso was alarmed for his own safety (*b*). A dark conspiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

NOTES

ON

THE ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

THE former part of this book, comprising no less than six years, is lost, with other parts of Tacitus. Claudius succeeded to Caligula, who was put to death by Chærea and other conspirators, on the 24th of January, A. U. C. 794. The present book begins abruptly in the year of Rome 800, when Claudius had reigned six years. The very first sentence is imperfect. The historian, beyond all doubt, had been speaking of Messalina and Poppæa Sabina, but neither of them is mentioned in the mutilated text. To avoid beginning with a broken passage, the translator has added their names, and the sense will now be found complete. Valerius Asiaticus had been consul twice; the first time, for some months, to supply the place of the consuls who began the year A. U. C. 796; the second time, in conjunction with Marcus Junius Silanus, A. U. C. 799. Suetonius, in Claud. s. 14.

(a) Suilius has been already mentioned, Annals, book iv. s. 31; and for the infamy of his character, see book xiii. s. 42.

(b) In the tumult occasioned by the death of Caligula,

when the people were wild with contending passions, and the prætorian guards paraded the streets denouncing vengeance against the conspirators, Valerius Asiaticus (according to Josephus) rushed forward to meet them, proclaiming aloud, "I wish the tyrant had fallen by my hand." See Seneca, De Constantiâ, cap. 18.

(c) Formerly the capital of the Allobroges; now Vienne in Dauphiné.

Section II.

(a) This was agreeable to the Roman manners. What man is ashamed, says Cornelius Nepos, to take his wife with him to a convivial meeting? *Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium?* Corn. Nep. in Præfatione.

Section V.

(a) Marcus Cincius, tribune of the people, was the author of the *Cincian Law*, so called after his name, in the consulship of Sempronius and Cethegus, A. U. C. 550. It provided against the receipt of gifts and presents, but, in a course of time, fell into disuse, till Augustus, A. U. 732, thought fit to revive it, with an additional clause, by which the advocate, who pleaded for hire, was condemned to pay four times the sum. Claudius (as may be seen s. vii.) softened the rigour of the law, allowing a certain fee, and ordaining, that whoever took more should be obliged to make restitution.

Section VIII.

(a) Mithridates, brother to Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was appointed by Tiberius to sway the sceptre of Armenia, A. U. C. 788. See Annals, book vi. s. 32. He was afterwards brought to Rome in chains, and thrown

into prison by Caligula, A. U. 793. Tacitus says, he had given an account of this transaction; but the history of Caligula is unfortunately lost.

(b) For Seleucia, see the Geographical Table.

(c) The river here intended is the Tigris. See Geographical Table.

(d) For the Dahæ and Hyrcani, see the Geographical Table.

Section IX.

(a) This is the same Cotys who has been already mentioned, as king of part of Thrace. See Annals, book iv. s. 67; and see the note. Caligula added his division of that country to the dominions of Rhæmetalces, and made Cotys king of the lesser Armenia, A. U. C. 791.

Section X.

(a) For the river Erinde and Sinden, see the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(a) The secular games were exhibited by Augustus, in the consulship of Caius Furnius and C. Silanus, A. U. C. 737. The famous *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace has made them universally known. In their first institution they were to be celebrated at the end of every century; but that regulation, as we learn from Horace, was changed to every hundred and ten years.

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis, ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die clarâ, totiesque gratâ
Nocte frequentes.

The first secular games were in the consulship of Valerius and Virginius, A. U. C. 298.

The second, in the consulship of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Pætilius, A. U. C. 408.

The third, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, A. U. C. 518.

The fourth, in the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Aurelius, A. U. C. 628.

The fifth, by Augustus, as above mentioned, 737.

The sixth, by Claudius, A. U. C. 800.

Tacitus says, Claudius differed from the computation of Augustus; and for an explanation of that matter he refers us to the history of Domitian, who also gave the secular games, A. U. C. 841. But the history of Domitian has not reached posterity. That monster has escaped the vengeance due to his crimes from the pen of Tacitus. The difference between the calculation of Augustus and that of Claudius appears to be a fallacy of the latter emperor. Suetonius says, he exhibited the secular games, under a pretence of their having been anticipated by Augustus; and yet Claudius, in his history, fairly owns, *that they had been neglected before the time of Augustus; but that emperor made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought the games to their regular order.* For this reason, when the cryer, by order of Claudius, invited the people, in the usual form, *to games, which no one had ever seen, and would never see again,* the people could not refrain from laughing, as many then living had seen them in the time of Augustus, and some of the players, who had acted on that occasion, were now brought upon the stage again. Suet. in Claud. s. 21.

(b) The *Trojan Game*, commonly ascribed to Æneas, is beautifully described by Virgil, Æneid v. ver. 545. Suetonius says it was exhibited by Julius Cæsar, when two companies, one consisting of grown up lads, and the other of boys of a lesser size, displayed their skill in

horsemanship. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 39. This may account for the appearance of Britannicus and Domitius Nero, both at that time extremely young. Britannicus was born A. U. C. 794; Nero in the year 790. See the Genealogical Table, No. 103 and No. 35.

(c) Suetonius explains the origin of this fable. He says, there was a report, that certain assassins were hired by Messalina to strangle Nero in his bed, in order to remove the rival of Britannicus. The men went to execute their purpose, but were frightened by a serpent that crept from under his pillow. This tale was occasioned by the finding of a serpent's skin near Nero's pillow, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a golden bracelet. Suetonius, in Neron. s. 6.

Section XII.

(a) Silius was consul elect, as already mentioned in this book, s. 5. Juvenal says,

——————— Elige quidnam
Suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Cæsaris uxor
Destinat. Optimus hic, et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciæ, rapitur miser extinguendus
Messalinæ oculis. SAT. X. ver. 331.

Now Silius wants thy counsel; give advice;
Wed Cæsar's wife, or die. The choice is nice.
Her comet-eyes she darts on ev'ry grace,
And takes a fatal liking to his face.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XIII.

(a) Pomponius had been consul, but not in the beginning of the year, and therefore his name does not ap-

pear in the *Fasti Consulares*. Quintilian praises his dramatic genius, and admires his tragedies. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xiii. note *(c)*.

(b) The *Simbruine Hills*, according to Brotier and other commentators, are the hills that overlook the town, formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Subjaco*, about forty miles from Rome, towards the east, and not far from the *Sacred Cave*, now *Il Monastero del Sacro Speco*. The waters issuing from two fountains, known by the names of *Curtius* and *Cæruleus*, were, by the direction of Claudius, brought to Rome in canals made with great labour and vast expence. See Pliny's Description, lib. xxxvi. s. 15.

Section XIV.

(a) The invention of letters, one of the happiest exertions of the human mind, presents a subject of so curious and complicated a nature, that the discussion of it cannot be condensed into a note. Plato and Cicero were so struck with the wonderful artifice of alphabetical characters, as to conclude that it was not of human invention, but a preternatural gift of the immortal gods. Dr. Warburton has given a dissertation on the subject, in which profound learning and sound philosophy are happily united. After him, it may be stated, that man, being formed for society, soon found two ways of communicating his thoughts; namely, by sounds and significant action. But both were transient. Something permanent was still required; something, by which the conceptions of the mind might be preserved and communicated at a distance. This was done by the images of things, properly called picture-writing. Sensible objects were easily represented, but abstract ideas demanded further improvement. That difficulty was also conquered.

Men conversant in matter wanted sensible images to convey the ideas formed by the operations of the understanding. For that purpose, every object, in which could be found any kind of resemblance or analogy, was introduced to represent the inward sentiment: as an EYE, for knowledge; a CIRCLE, for eternity. This was the symbolic writing of the Ægyptians, who attended chiefly to the animal creation, and thereby established the *brute-worship* of their country. The several animals and symbolic figures being carved on pyramids and obelisks, by direction of the sacerdotal order, the art of expressing ideas by analogous representation was deemed sacred, and thence called HIEROGLYPHIC. It had, at first, nothing in it of mystery: it was dictated by the necessities of man in social life. The Chinese in the east had their hieroglyphics Picture-writing was known to the Mexicans, in a world then undiscovered; and, accordingly, ACOSTA tells us, that the first account of a Spanish fleet on the coast, was sent to Montezuma in delineations painted on cloth. The same writer adds, things that had a bodily shape, were represented by their proper figures; and those that were invisible, by other expressive characters; and thus the Mexicans wrote or painted every thing they had occasion to express. The Peruvians made use of arbitrary marks. With their knotted cords of different colours, and various sizes, they contrived to convey their thoughts to one another. The Chinese proceeded from their hieroglyphics to the invention of a significant mark for every idea. It is a mistake to say that they formed an alphabet, or letters to be the sign of simple sounds. Their characters do not stand for syllables, of which articulate words are composed; they express the idea, or the object itself; and it is said that they have no less than seventy thousand of such arbitrary characters. The confusion that must

follow is obvious. Signs for WORDS, not THINGS, were still the grand desideratum. Some happy genius (who, it is not known) arose in Ægypt. He had the sagacity to observe the formation of sounds by the human organs, and soon perceived that several were frequently united to constitute a word. By decompounding these, and fixing a mark for vowels and consonants, which might be afterwards blended and varied as the word required, the art of writing was reduced to simplicity, and finally established in its present form. Moses brought alphabetic letters, with the rest of his learning, from Ægypt, and was, therefore, able to reduce his books to writing. Cadmus was of Thebes in Ægypt, and passed from Phœnicia into Greece. His native country shews whence he derived his alphabet; though the Phœnicians were, by vulgar error, said to be the people who invented letters, and first taught the art of *stopping the flying sound.*

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

LUCAN, lib. iii. ver. 220.

Pliny the elder gives the honour to the Assyrians: he says, *Literas semper arbitror fuisse Assyrias.* Lib. vii. s. 56. It is plain, however, that he was not rightly informed. See Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. iii. page 66, &c.; and see Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxxii. page 212.

(b) Dr. Warburton says, the Hebrew alphabet, which Moses employed in the composition of the Pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus had only sixteen letters, and the Hebrew had two-and-twenty. Divine Legat. vol. iii. page 148. We find from Tacitus, that the Greek alphabet received considerable additions. As to the three letters added by Claudius to the Roman alphabet, Suetonius

says, he invented three new letters, concerning which he published a book, while he was yet a private citizen; and, after his elevation to the imperial seat, his authority introduced them into common use, and the same were still extant in books, registers, and inscriptions on buildings. See Life of Claudius, s. 41. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, has given, from a brass table found at Lyons, a speech made by Claudius to the senate; but in that monument of antiquity no trace appears of those new letters.

Section XVII.

(a) For an account of Flavius, the father, see Annals, book ii. s. 9 and 10.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(a) For the Chaucians, see the Geographical Table.

(b) The countries now called *Zelande*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*. In those parts there were several canals and inlets of the sea, between the *Scheld*, the *Meuse*, and the *Rhine*.

Section XIX.

(a) For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table: and for Lucius Apronius, see Annals, book iv. s. 73 and 74.

Section XX.

(a) For the Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(a) Some of the commentators will have this person to be Quintus Curtius, the historian of Alexander the Great; but this opinion is without foundation. Tacitus would not omit a circumstance so very remarkable.

(b) For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table.

(c) This story is related as a fact by the younger Pliny, lib. vii. ep. 27.

Section XXII.

(a) In the consulship of Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, A. U. C. 575, Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, preferred a *rogatio* or bill, which passed into a law, to settle at what age the different magistracies might be obtained. *Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio, tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque.* Livy, lib. xl. s. 43. The quæstorship was the first office any person could bear in the commonwealth, and, by the new regulation, might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 115.

(b) The *Comitia Curiata* owe their original to the division which Romulus made of the people into thirty curiæ, ten being contained in every tribe. They answered, in most respects, to the modern divisions of cities into parishes. Before the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, or assemblies of the people in their centuries, which were in number 193, instituted by Servius Tullius, all the great concerns of the state were transacted in the curias; such as the electing of magistrates, the making or abrogating of laws, and the decision of capital causes. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 129.

Section XXIII.

(a) Gallia *Comata*, a general name for the whole country on this side of the Alps. See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the *Veneti* and *Insubres*, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Alesia was besieged by Julius Cæsar. The town, situated on the ridge of a hill, was almost impregnable. It could not be taken by assault. Vercingetorix commanded the garrison. Cæsar formed his lines of circumvallation, and was obliged to sit down before the place for a considerable time. He has left a circumstantial account of all his operations, and also of the speech of CRITOGNATUS, a leading chieftain among the Gauls, when the garrison, pressed by famine, debated whether they should capitulate, or sally out in a body, and die with glory, sword in hand. Cæsar records this man's speech, on account of its singular and nefarious cruelty; *propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem.* CRITOGNATUS opposed all terms of accomodation. To sally out, he said, might be called an effort of brave despair; but it was in fact the pusillanimity of men who dreaded the hardships of an approaching famine. But what was the conduct of the ancient Gauls, when besieged by the Cimbri and the Teutones? Reduced to the last distress, they devoured the bodies of all who were incapable of bearing arms, and held out to the last. That, he said, was a glorious precedent: it deserved to be imitated, and transmitted to posterity. Alesia, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion, and Vercingetorix was delivered up. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vii. s. 68 to the end of 89. For ALESIA, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(a) It has been mentioned, note *(b)* s. 14, that a speech of Claudius, engraved on a tablet of brass, has been found at Lyons. It is set forth at length by Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, vol. ii. 4to. page 349, and by Dotteville, vol. iv. page 422. The speech relates

to the question stated by Tacitus, namely, the admission of the Gauls into the Roman senate. The historian has not given the argument in the form and words of the original speech. He has seized the substance, and expressed it with his usual brevity, in a style suited to an emperor, of whom he says, that in his prepared speeches he never wanted elegance. *Nec in Claudio, quoties meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres.*

Section XXV.

(a) We read in Suetonius, that Julius Cæsar filled up the vacancies in the senate, and advanced several commoners to the rank of patricians. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 41. It should seem, from what Tacitus says, that he was willing to give colour to his proceedings, and therefore acted under a law called, after Cassius the consul for part of the year, the *Cassian law.* In like manner, Augustus adopted the same measure, and carried it into execution, under the authority of a law enacted in the consulship of Lucius Sænius, who was appointed to the office towards the end of the year, and therefore does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares.*

(b) The number of Roman citizens mentioned in this place would be thought altogether incredible, if the estimate were to be understood to relate to the inhabitants of the capital: but the question was not, what number dwelt within the walls of the city; it extended to the whole body of the Roman people, wherever stationed.

Section XXVIII.

(a) This was *Mnester*, the comedian, famous for his adulterous commerce with Messalina.

Section XXIX.

(a) As the whole history of Caligula is lost, the part which Callistus acted in the catastrophe of that emperor is not to be found in Tacitus. Cassius Chærea was the chief conspirator. He drew into his plot a number of leading men, and among them Callistus, a freedman enriched by the favours of Caligula. To apologize, in some degree, for his perfidy and ingratitude, the enfranchised slave gave out, that he had orders from Caligula to administer poison to Claudius. By that story, whether true or false, he varnished over his treachery to his benefactor, and secured his interest with the next emperor.

Section XXXVI.

(a) Lateranus was nephew to Aulus Plautius, the famous general who commanded in Britain, A. U. C. 796, and subdued the southern part of the island. See the Life of Agricola, s. xiv; and s. xvii. note *(d)*.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Claudius contracted an incestuous marriage with the daughter of his brother Germanicus: Agrippina destroyed the emperor's son Britannicus, and afterwards dispatched Claudius himself, to open the road to empire for her son Nero, who, it is well known, was guilty of parricide: and Narcissus, the favourite freedman, ended his days in a dungeon. Annals, book xiii. s. 1.

NOTES

ON

THE TWELFTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section II.

(a) SUETONIUS gives an account of the wives of Claudius in regular succession. His first wife was Plautia Urgulanilla. Being in a short time divorced from her, he married Ælia Petina, descended from a father of consular rank: by her he had a daughter named Antonia; for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 105. For Ælia Petina, see No. 104. Claudius was divorced from his second wife. He then married Messalina, and by her had a daughter, Octavia, and a son named Britannicus. Lollia Paulina, who aspired on the present occasion to the imperial bed, had been married to Caligula, and was soon divorced. See for her the Genealogical Table, No. 99. Agrippina, the successful candidate, was the daughter of Germanicus, the brother of Claudius. For her, see the Genealogical Table, No. 93; and for the whole transaction as here related by Tacitus, see Suet. in Claud. s. 26.

Section III.

(a) Domitius, the son of Agrippina, was afterwards Nero the emperor. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

Section XI.

(a) Tiberius had given two kings to the Parthians, viz. Phraates and Tiridates. Annals, book vi. s. 31 and 32.

Section XII.

(a) For the Arabs, see the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(a) A people who inhabited a part of Mesopotamia. See the Geographical Table.

(b) Ninos, formerly the celebrated city of *Nineve*, the capital of Assyria. See the Geographical Table.

(c) This mountain, and the river *Corma*, are mentioned by Tacitus only.

Section XV.

(a) Mithridates mentioned in this place was descended from the great Mithridates, who waged the long war with the Romans, called the Mithridatic War. Claudius, in a distribution of kingdoms among the princes bordering on the Euxine, made the descendant of Mithridates king of Bosphorus.

(b) The Dandaridæ inhabited a tract of country on the Euxine shore. See the Geographical Table.

(c) A people near the Palus Mæotis. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVI.

(a) The Aorsians were mentioned in the former section. See the Geographical Table.

(b) For Soza, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Panda, a river not well known at present.

Section XVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Taurus, a chain of mountains in Asia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(a) Achæmenes was grandfather to Cambyses, and after him the Persian kings were called ACHÆMENIDÆ.

Section XXII.

(a) Suetonius has given some particulars of the marriage of Caligula with Lollia Paulina. She was in a distant province with her husband Memmius Regulus, in whose consulship Sejanus met his fate. See Annals, v. in the Supplement, s. 32. Regulus, in the time of Caligula, had the command of the army in Syria. Lollia Paulina, his wife, accompanied him to his government. Caligula called her back to Rome, and married her; but was soon divorced. Suet. in Calig. s. 25. Pliny the elder describes, with indignation, the immense and almost incredible wealth, which she displayed in her dress, and the laboured ornaments of her person at the banquet after the marriage ceremony. He says, he saw her sinking under the load of diamonds that encumbered her robe, and sparkled in her hair, her ears, on her neck, her arms and fingers. This profusion of riches was not the gift of a prodigal emperor; but the spoil of plundered provinces, acquired by her grandfather Marcus Lollius, while he commanded the Roman legions in the east. The emperor of Rome exhibited the plunder he had gained by proscriptions and the murder of Roman citizens; and a woman displayed more magnificence,

than ever entered into the imagination of the CURII and FABRICII. Pliny, lib. ix. s. 35.

Section XXIII.

(a) Agrippa was the descendant of Herod the Great, who was made king of Judæa by a decree of the senate A. U. C. 714, and died in the year 750, about four years before the Christian æra. Agrippa, his grandson, was thrown into prison by Tiberius, and restored to his kingdom by Caligula. He died A. U. C. 797. Sohemus, mentioned in the text, was descended from Sohemus king of Ituræa, who was murdered by Herod A. U. C. 726. See Josephus; and for Ituræa, see the Geographical Table.

(b) The precinct of the city of Rome was called the POMÆIRUM, as the antiquarians say, from *ponere mœnia*. The Romans had not the *new lights* that teach the legislators of France to make *Atheism* the foundation of their wild democracy. After a beginning so truly impious and detestable, no wonder that we see no rule of justice, no moral rectitude, no order in their legislative assembly, and no power in their executive council to enforce obedience to the laws. They have established civil and religious anarchy: rapine, murder, and every crime that shocks humanity have been the consequence. The Romans had the good sense to set out with other principles. Even in that dark age they had an idea of a superintending Providence, and referred every thing to the immortal Gods. The very walls of Rome were consecrated to tutelar deities, and accordingly considered as sacred. The vacant space on both sides of the wall was holy ground; *quod neque habitari, neque arari fas erat.* As the city increased, the same religious ceremony was ob-

served. *In urbis incremento semper, quantum mœnia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.* Livy, lib. i. s. 44. To enlarge the precinct of Rome was called *Jus proferendi pomœrii;* but that right was of such consequence, that it was allowed to none but those who extended the boundaries of the empire. After the inclosure of the seven hills by the kings of Rome, *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.* Sylla, the dictator, was the first who had the honour of widening the Pomœrium, A. U. C. 674. Seneca de Brevit. Vitæ, cap. xiv. Julius Cæsar, after all his victories, claimed the same right, A. U. C. 710; and Augustus followed his example, A. U. C. 746. Dio, lib. xliii. The number of inhabitants, when Rome was in its flourishing state, Lipsius computes at four millions. Brotier has offered a more probable conjecture. He compares Paris and London with Rome; and his numbers, on a fair calculation, are:

Paris - - - -	640,000
London - - - -	768,000
Rome - - - -	1,188,000

Brotier proceeds in his estimate to the Chinese empire, where he reckons two hundred million of inhabitants, whereas the number in Europe is computed at 130 million. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii. page 379, 4to edit.

Section XXV.

(a) Attus Clausus, called afterwards Appius Claudius, has been mentioned, book xi. s. 24, as the founder of the Claudian family. We are told the same by Virgil:

Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
Agmen agens CLAUSUS, magnique ipse agminis instar;

Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
ÆNEID. vii. ver. 706.

Section XXVII.

(a) For an account of the Ubians, originally a people of Germany, afterwards changed into a Roman colony, see the Manners of the Germans, s. xxviii. note *(g)*

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXIX.

(a) Maroboduus being expelled from his dominions, and, under an appearance of protection, detained as a state prisoner at Ravenna, Vannius was made king by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, A. U. C. 772. Annals, book ii. s. 63.

(b) Lygians, a people of Germany. See the Geographical Table.

(c) Jazyges, a people of Sarmatia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXXI.

(a) As Tacitus's account of the six first years of Claudius is lost, the invasion of Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius, has not occurred either in this book, or that which precedes it. It is, therefore, proper to mention in this place, that, from the descent made by Julius Cæsar, A. U. C. 699, and, after him, Aulus Plautius was the first Roman general that landed in Britain, A. U. C. 796. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, served in that expedition. The southern parts of the island

were reduced to subjection. Claudius visited his new conquest, and at his return, having enlarged the Roman empire, entered Rome in triumph. We now find that Ostorius Scapula succeeded to Aulus Plautius. The sequel will shew the spirit of liberty that inspired the Britons, and the consummate ability with which the Roman general triumphed over a fierce and warlike people. For the several officers who commanded in Britain, from this time to the arrival of Agricola, A. U. C. 831, see the Life of Agricola, s. xvii. note *(d)*. For the rivers ANTONA, now the *Avon*; SABRINA, now the *Severn;* and AUFONA, now the *Nen;* see the Geographical Table. Camden is of opinion that ANTONA, the *Avon*, has found its way into the text by mistake, and that the true reading should be AUFONA, the *Nen*. See Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, 431. Camden's opinion has been followed in the translation.

(b) The *Iceni* inhabited *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*. See Life of Agricola, s. xi. note *(a)*.

Section XXXII.

(a) The *Cangi* inhabited *Cheshire*, and part of *Lancashire*, opposite to Ireland.

(b) Brigantes, the people inhabiting *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*.

(c) Silures; the people who occupied *Herefordshire*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Monmouth*, and *Glamorgan*, and in general *South-Wales*.

(d) Camelodunum, now *Colchester*.

Section XXXIII.

(a) Caractacus, according to Camden, reigned in the county of *Cardigan*.

(b) *Ordovices*, the people of *North-Wales*.

(c) This spot, Camden says, was in *Shropshire*, where the COLUNUS, now the *Clune*, runs into the TEMDUS, now *Temd*, not far from a hill called *Caer-Carodoc*.

Section XXXV.

(a) This river, according to Camden, was the *Temd*.

Section XXXVI.

(a) Aulus Plautius, as mentioned s. xxxi. note *(a)*, invaded Britain A. U. C. 796; an active and warlike chieftain in every campaign against the Romans. Tacitus is never better pleased, than when he has an opportunity of doing justice to the chiefs of foreign nations, who distinguished themselves by their virtue, their courage, and their love of liberty. See his character of Arminius, Annals, ii. s. 88. Caractacus, in like manner, is represented in the brightest colours; great in the field of battle, and not less so before the emperor Claudius, in the presence of the Roman people. Mr. Mason has formed a noble dramatic poem on the subject. He has made a fine use of Tacitus in many passages, but in none more than in the following lines, which the reader will see are a beautiful insertion from the real speech of Caractacus to the emperor Claudius:

——— Soldier, I had arms;
Had neighing steeds to whirl my iron car;

Had wealth, dominion. Dost thou wonder, Roman,
I fought to save them? What, if Cæsar aims
To lord it universal o'er the world,
Shall the world tamely crouch at Cæsar's footstool?

AULUS DIDIUS.

Read in thy fate our answer. Yet if sooner
Thy pride had yielded—

CARACTACUS.

Thank the gods, I did not.
Had it been so, the glory of thy master,
Like my misfortunes, had been short and trivial,
Oblivion's ready prey. Now, after struggling
Nine years, and that right bravely, 'gainst a tyrant,
I am his slave to treat as seems him good.
If cruelly, 'twill be an easy task
To bow a wretch, alas! how bow'd already!
Down to the dust: If well, his clemency,
When trick'd and varnish'd by your glossing penman,
Will shine in honour's annals.

If Mr. Mason has departed from the strict line of historical truth, he has done it with the privilege of a poet, and his poem is enriched by the fiction. The isle of Mona was not attacked till A. U. C. 814, when Suetonius Paulinus invested the place, ten years after Caractacus was led a prisoner to Rome; nor was that island finally reduced till the year 831. See the Life of Agricola, s. xviii. Virgil, it is well known, adorned his poem by bringing together Dido and Æneas. The same disregard of chronology may be allowed to the author of Caractacus, since, by making his hero take sanctuary among the DRUIDS in Mona, he has produced the episo-

dical incidents of a beautiful piece. But why the honour of taking Caractacus prisoner, and sending him to Rome, should be transferred from OSTORIUS to AULUS DIDIUS, no good reason appears. Didius did not command in Britain till that event was passed. On the death of OSTORIUS, he was appointed governor; a tame inactive officer, who did not, as we are told by Tacitus, distinguish himself by one warlike exploit.

Section XL.

(a) It is not to be inferred from this passage, that it was a general principle with the Britons not to acquiesce under a female reign. Boadicea, as will be seen hereafter, was queen of the Iceni; and she, at the head of her army just going to give battle, tells the soldiers, "It is "not the first time that the Britons took the field under "the conduct of a woman." Book xiv. s. 35. The fact was, the people saw a warlike chief oppressed by his wife, and therefore resolved to submit no longer to the tyranny of a woman.

Section XLII.

(a) Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero. Racine, who has many fine insertions from Tacitus in his tragedy of Britannicus, has imitated this passage:

Moi, fille, femme, sœur, et mere de vos maîtres.

Section XLV.

(a) GORNEAS, a castle in Armenia, according to D'Anville, now called *Khorien*. For Artaxata and Tigranocerta, see the Geographical Table. The story of Rhadamistus and Zenobia, which here related by

Tacitus, furnished Crébillon, the celebrated French poet, a subject for one of his best tragedies. Pharasmanes and his son Rhadamistus are represented, with historical truth, in all the colours of their guilt; the former, as accessary to the death of his brother Mithridates; and the latter, as the murderer of his uncle. Rhadamistus, in the end, dies by the hand of his father. In fact, he was afterwards put to death by Pharasmanes. Annals, xiii. s. 37. The English tragedy of ZENOBIA deviates so far from Tacitus, as to represent Rhadamistus in an amiable light. The fable, or plot, is almost entirely new; and the catastrophe aims at the passions of terror and pity, instead of exciting horror; an emotion of the mind, to which the strong but sombre genius of Crébillon seems to have had a peculiar bias.

Section LIII.

(a) Suetonius says that the law, of which Pallas was the first mover, was afterwards enforced by Vespasian, who caused a decree to pass, enacting that the woman, who married the slave of another person, should be deemed a slave. Suet. in Vesp. s. xi. Pliny the consul says, that he himself saw, on the Tiburtine road, near the first mile-stone, a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, with an inscription, importing, that the senate voted to Pallas the Prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen millions of sesterces, as a reward for his fidelity, and regard for his patrons. See book vii. epist. 29. In a subsequent letter, Pliny mentions the same fact again. He states the words of the inscription: *Huic senatus, ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos, ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et sestertium centies quinquegies; cujus honore contentus fuit.* Pliny adds, that he had the curiosity to

inspect the decree, and he found the inscription modest, in comparison with the lavish praise bestowed upon an insolent upstart by the senate. Pallas refused the money; and to complete the farce, the senate voted that the emperor should request a manumitted slave to yield to the entreaty of the fathers. Pallas still persisted to reject the money, professing to have a soul above the love of wealth. It was decreed, that the honours of that arrogant wretch, as well those which he refused, as those which he accepted, should be inscribed on brass, as a public and lasting monument. See the account at large, Pliny, lib. viii. epist. 6.

Section LV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LVI.

(a) For the lake *Fucinus*, and the river *Liris*, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Suetonius says, Claudius attempted the Fucine lake, as much with a view to the glory of the performance, as an expectation of advantage. He finished a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by levelling a mountain; a work of prodigious difficulty, thirty thousand men having been employed in constant labour for eleven years together. Suet. in Claud. s. 20.

(c) Brotier says, the circumference of the lake was six-and-twenty miles.

(d) Pliny the elder says, he himself saw Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, at the naval spectacle, adorned with a magnificent robe wrought in pure gold, without any intermixture of other materials. *Nos vidimus Agrip-*

pinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis prælii spectaculum, assidentem ei, indutam paludamento, auro textili, sine aliâ materiâ. Pliny, lib. xxxiii. s. 19.

Section LX.

(a) Caius Sempronius Gracchus was the author of a law in favour of the Roman knights, A. U. C. 632. He added three hundred of the equestrian order to the same number of senators, and vested in that body all judicial authority. The *Servilian* law, introduced by Quintus Servilius Cæpio, in his consulship A. U. C. 648, repealed the *Sempronian* institution, and restored the jurisdiction of the senate.

Section LXI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXII.

(a) Now *Constantinople.* See the Geographical Table.

(b) An obscure man of the name of Andriscus pretended to be the son of Perseus. He was found to be an impostor, and therefore called Pseudophilippus. He was defeated, and taken prisoner by Metellus, A. U. C. 606.

(c) Antiochus III. king of Syria, waged war against the Romans, and was conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Perseus, king of Macedonia, was subdued by Paulus Æmilius, A. U. C. 586. Aristonicus invaded Asia, and was overthrown by Perperna, A. U. C. 623.

(d) The people of Cilicia fitted out a number of armed ships, and over-ran the Mediterranean. This was called the Piratic War. Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, and father of Antony the triumvir, was

sent, with extraordinary powers given to him in his commission, to clear the seas of those roving freebooters, A. U. C. 684. The war however was not brought to a conclusion. In the year 687, the same commission was given to Pompey, notwithstanding the strong opposition of Quintus Catulus, who thought that Pompey was growing too great for his country, and therefore entered his public protest against trusting the commonwealth to the hands of one man. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 31 ; and see Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia.

Section LXIII.

(a) Montesquieu makes an ingenious use of this passage : Having bestowed his encomium on the British constitution, he observes that Harrington, in his *Oceana*, has strained his idea of liberty to so high a pitch, that it may amuse in theory, but never can exist in practice. He built CHALCEDON, when he had BYZANTIUM before his eyes. Spirit of Laws, vol. i. page 324.

Section LXIV.

(a) Domitia Lepida is said in the original to have been the daughter of the younger Antonia. But this, according to Suetonius, is a mistake. Antony the triumvir had two daughters, each called Antonia, by Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The eldest, Suetonius says, was married to Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, and by him was the mother of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, the first husband of Agrippina, and by her the father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 32, 33 and 34. Antonia the younger was married to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and by him was the mother of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius. See her character,

Annals, iv. in the Supplement, s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

Section LXVI.

(a) For Sinuessa, see the Geographical Table. The waters of this place are recommended for their salubrity by Pliny the elder, lib. xxxi. s. 2.

Section LXIX.

(a) The thirteenth of October.

NOTES

ON

THE THIRTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) THIS was Marcus Junius Silanus, the son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, the granddaughter of Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 55, 56 and 57.

(b) See Annals, xii. s. 57 and 65.

Section III.

(a) Nero's passion for the elegant arts, had he known how to restrain it within due bounds, might have been not unworthy of a prince; but we shall see him in the sequel as ridiculous for his taste, as he was detestable for his vices.

Section IV.

(a) See the trial of Valerius Asiaticus in the apartment of Claudius, Annals, xi. s. 2.

(b) This speech gave universal satisfaction. It was, probably, written by Seneca. While it promised a reign of moderation, it served to give the young prince a lesson on the true and popular arts of government. Dio tells us, that the senate ordered it to be engraved on a pillar

of solid silver, and to be publicly read every year at the time when the consuls entered on their magistracy. Dio, lib. lxi.

Section V.

(a) This corrupt practice, which was nothing less than open bribery, was established by law in the reign of Claudius. Annals, xi. s. 22.

Section VII.

(a) Agrippa was king of Judæa; Antiochus, of Commagene. See the Geographical Table.

(b) The Lesser Armenia was on this side of the Euphrates. See the Geographical Table. Aristobulus was the son of Herod, who formerly reigned in *Chalcis*.

(c) For the country called Sophene, see the Geographical Table.

Section VIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(a) For Plautius Lateranus, see Annals, xi. s. 36.

Section XII.

(a) Acté was a purchased slave from Asia. Suetonius says that Nero, being at one time determined to marry her, suborned several men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. Suet. in Neron. s. 28.

(b) Otho, afterwards emperor.

Section XIII.

(a) Annæus Serenus was high in the esteem and friendship of Seneca, as appears, epist. lxiii.

Section XIV.

(a) Pallas was the person who prevailed on Claudius to contract an incestuous marriage with his niece Agrippina. From that time his influence was beyond all bounds. Suetonius says he was the prince's treasurer: *Pallantem a rationibus.* The decree of the senate in honour of this insolent freedman has been mentioned, Annals, xii. s. 53, and note *(a)*. Suetonius says, that Pallas and Narcissus plundered the public with such violent rapacity, that Claudius at length complained of the impoverished state of his exchequer, when it was archly said, his *coffers would be full enough, if his two freedmen would take him into partnership.* Suet. in Claud. s. 28. The dismission of such a man from court, and all his employments, was a fatal blow to Agrippina. The speech in which she gives vent to her indignation is finely imitated by Racine, in his tragedy of Britannicus:

Pallas n'emporte pas tout l'appui d'Agrippine
Le ciel m'en laisse assez pour venger ma ruine.
Le fils de Claudius commence à ressentir
Des crimes, dont je n'ai que le seul repentir.
J'irai, n'en doutez point, le montrer à l'armée;
Plaindre aux yeux des soldats son enfance opprimée;
Leur faire, à mon exemple, expier leur erreur,
On verra, d'un coté, le fils d'un empereur
Redemandant la foi jurée à sa famille;
Et de Germanicus on attendra la fille:
De l'autre, l'on verra le fils d'Ænobarbus,
Appuyé de Seneque, et du tribun Burrhus;
Qui tous deux, de l'exil rappellés par moi-même,
Partagent à mes yeux l'autorité suprême.
De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit;

On sçaura les chemins par où je l'ai conduit.
J'avoûrai les rumeurs les plus iujurieuses :
Je confesserai tout, exils, assassinats,
Poison même . . . . . .

Section XV.

(a) The Saturnalia began on the seventeenth of December, and lasted fifteen days. Horace says to his slave, who wants to exercise the *equality* allowed during the festival,

——— Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere ; narra.

(b) In this play of *Who shall be King?* the boys threw dice to decide their chance. Horace alludes to this custom, when he says,

Non regna vini sortiere talis.
Lib. i. ode 4.

And again,

Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum
Nænia, quæ regnum rectè facientibus offert.
Lib. i.

(c) The commentators cite some verses of Ennius, which they suppose were sung by Britannicus on this occasion. But what they say is mere conjecture.

Section XVIII.

(a) They took the palaces, villas, and estates of Britannicus.

Section XXII.

(a) Seneca calls Balbillus the best of men, and a scholar of uncommon erudition. *Virorum optimus, in*

omni literarum genere rarissimus. See Quæst. Nat. cap. iv. s. 2.

(b) The Romans had three ways of exterminating a man from his country; namely, *Exilium*, *Relegatio*, and *Deportatio*. The person condemned to exile lost the rights of a citizen, and forfeited all kinds of property. Sentence of relegation removed the person to a certain distance from Rome; but, if no fine was imposed, it took away no other right. *Deportation* was invented by Augustus. It was the severest kind of banishment. The person condemned was hurried away in chains, stripped of all property, and confined to some island or inhospitable place.

Section XXVII.

(a) The Romans had two different modes of enfranchisement, or of granting freedom to their slaves. The first was performed by the prætor, who ordered the slave to turn round, and with a switch or cane struck him on the head or back, informing him that he was thereby manumitted. The second way of granting freedom was by writing under the master's hand, or by his voluntary declaration in the presence of a few friends. The most solemn mode of manumission was that by the rod, called *Vindicta:* hence Perseus the satirist says, *Vindictâ postquam meus a prætore recessi.* The person so enfranchised, obtained all the rights of a Roman citizen. The second form of manumission conveyed to the slave a degree of liberty, but did not rank him in the class of citizens, nor allow him to be in any case a legal witness. The consequence was, that the patron, who granted freedom by his own private act, had time to consider whether the slave, whom he released, was worthy of a

further favour. He might, if he thought proper, invest him with all the rights of a citizen by the more solemn mode of manumission before the prætor. See Heineccius, Antiquit. Roman. Juris. i. tit. 4 and 5.

(b) Paris the comedian was a slave belonging to Domitia, the emperor's aunt. See the Genealogical Table, No. 40. He had paid a sum of money for the degree of liberty, which her private act conferred, and still remained in her list of freedmen. Aspiring above that rank, he pretended to be ingenuous by his birth, and, by consequence, intitled to all the rights of a Roman citizen; and his plea, we find, was admitted. It is said that Domitia was obliged to repay to the pantomime actor, the money which she had received for his freedom.

Section XXIX.

(a) It has been already observed, that *Ærarium* was the treasury of the public; *Fiscus*, that of the prince. Pliny the elder says, that, in the time of the republic, when the private exchequer of the emperor was a thing unknown, the money in the treasury, A. U. C. 663, amounted to a prodigious sum. It was still greater when Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war, A. U. 705, made himself master of all the riches of the commonwealth. From that time the dissipation of the emperors, and the rapacity of their favourites, effectually drained the *Ærarium*, and impoverished the state.

Section XXXI.

(a) This amphitheatre was built entirely with wood. Suetonius says it was completed within the year; and that Nero, in the public spectacles which he exhibited,

gave orders that none of the combatants should be slain, not even the criminals employed upon that occasion. Suet. in Neron. s. 12. See Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 40.

(b) A tax on all commodities exposed to sale was imposed by Augustus, in the consulship of Metellus and Nerva, A. U. C. 755. Dio says it was at first the fiftieth penny, but we find that in time the sum was doubled.

Section XXXII.

(a) This was Aulus Plautius, who, in the reign of Claudius, made the first descent on Britain. See the Life of Agricola.

(b) Lipsius and other commentators are of opinion, that what is here called a foreign superstition, was the Christian religion.

(c) Suetonius tells us, that Claudius put to death the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any proof of guilt, and without so much as hearing them in their defence, A. U. C. 796. Suet. in Claud. s. 29.

Section XXXIII.

(a) See this book, s. 1.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Corvinus Messala was joint consul with Augustus, A. U. C. 723. For more of him, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XXXVI.

(a) This mode of punishment was established by ancient usage. Livy relates, that the cohorts, which had lost their colours, were obliged to remain on the outside

of the camp, without their tents, and were found in that condition by Valerius Maximus the dictator. *Cohortes, quæ signa amiserant, extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas invenit dictator Valerius Maximus.* Livy, lib. x. s. 4.

Section XXXVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the Hyrcanians, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXXIX.

(a) For Trebizonde, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Lipsius says, this castle is mentioned by no other ancient author.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

(d) For the Araxes, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLII.

(a) For this man, Suillius, see Annals, iv. s. 31; Annals, xi. s. i.

(b) For the Cincian law against the venality of orators, see Annals, xi. s. 5 and 7.

(c) This was Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. Seneca was accused of an intrigue with her, and banished by Claudius to the isle of Corsica, A. U. C. 794. He was recalled by the influence of Agrippina, Annals, xii. s. 8.

(d) The charge of usury, with which the memory of Seneca is loaded, rests chiefly on the authority of Dio. By that historian we are told that the philosopher had placed immense sums at interest in Britain, and, by his vexatious and unrelenting demands of payment, was the cause of insurrections among the Britons. Dio's veracity

has been questioned, but the passage in Tacitus gives some colour to the charge.

Section XLIII.

(a) Quintus Pomponius has been mentioned before; Annals, vi. s. 18. For the death of Sabina Poppæa, see Annals, xi. s. 2.

(b) For the Baleares, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLIV.

(a) In this account of the varying passions of lovers, Tacitus seems to have had his eye on the passage in Terence:

> In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia: injuriæ,
> Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
> Bellum, pax rursum. EUNUCH. act. i. s. 14.

(b) He was sent into banishment. History, iv. s. 44.

Section XLV.

(a) Probably the same who was consul A. U. C. 762.

(b) Her mother Poppæa has been mentioned, Annals, xi. s. 1 and 2.

(c) The name of the son was Rufinus Crispinus, who, we are told by Suetonius, was thrown into the sea by order of Nero, because he was reported to act among his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. Suet. in Neron. s. 35. Otho, who succeeded so well with Poppæa, was afterwards emperor.

Section XLVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Brotier says, now *Villa Belloni* and *Villa Verospi*, near the gate called *Salara*

Section XLVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section L.

(a) The oppressions exercised by this class of men are often mentioned by Tacitus, Livy, and other Roman historians.

Section LI.

(a) See Montesquieu on this subject, Spirit of Laws, book xiii. ch. 19.

Section LII.

(a) Sulpicius Camerinus, with his son, was afterwards put to death by Nero. See Appendix to the xvith book of the Annals.

Section LIII.

(a) Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died in Germany A. U. C. 745. He had finished a canal, as mentioned Annals, ii. s. 8; and to prevent the overflowings of the Rhine, which often deluged the adjacent parts of Gaul, he laid the plan of a strong bank, by which the waters would have been thrown into a different course, and discharged into the lakes, now the *Zuyder-zee*. This great work was at length finished by Paulinus Pompeius.

(b) The *Arar* is now the *Soane*. Brotier observes, that this great undertaking, tending to communicate the Mediterranean and the Ocean, often attempted, and as often abandoned, was at length accomplished, to the immortal glory of Lewis XIV. That imperial work, worthy of a king, is now called the *Royal Canal*, or the Canal of *Languedoc*.

Section LIV.

(a) For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table.

(b) Pliny the elder says, that Pompey's theatre was large enough to hold forty thousand men. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. s. 15.

(c) The Germans had no idea of any kind of public spectacle but that which they had seen in their own country. Manners of the Germans, s. 24.

Section LV.

(a) The country into which the irruption was made, is supposed to be the land between *Wesel* and *Dusseldorf*. The Ansibarians, before they were expelled by the Chaucians, inhabited between the river *Amisia* (the *Ems)* and the *Rhine*.

(b) The revolt of the Cheruscans, in which Varus and his three legions perished. Annals, book i. s. 10.

(c) For the Chamavians, the Tubantes, and Usipians, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 32 and 33.

Section LVI.

(a) For the Bructerians and Tencterians, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 32 and 33.

(b) The country on the borders of the river *Luppia*, now the *Lippe*.

Section LVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) This was the river *Sala*, still known by the same name. It discharges itself into the *Albis*, now the *Elbe*.

(c) This method of producing salt is explained by Pliny in his Natural History, lib. xxxi. s. 7.

Section LVIII.

(a) It was supposed that under the shade of this tree Romulus and Remus were nourished by the she-wolf, as beautifully described by Virgil:

Fecerat et viridi fœtam Mavortis in antro
Procubuisse lupam: Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos; illam tereti cervice revulsam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.

ÆNEID, lib. viii.

Rumen was an old Latin word for *mamma*, or the dug of the she-wolf: thence the tree was called RUMINALIS.

(b) Some of the commentators think that there is a mistake in the computation, and that it ought to be eight hundred and thirty years. The difference is not material.

NOTES

ON

THE FOURTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) OTHO, afterwards emperor. See book xiii. s. 45 and 46.

Section II.

(a) Acté has been already mentioned, Annals, xiii. s. 12.

(b) Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 54.

Section III.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section IV.

(a) A feast in honour of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March, and continued for five days. See Ovid, Fast. lib. iii. ver. 713 and 810.

(b) Bauli, formerly the seat of Hortensius, was famous for great plenty of fish; hence at this day the name of *Peschiera d'Ortensio.*

Section V.

(a) The Lucrine Lake, now *Lago Lucrino.* Agrip

pina's villa was at *Bauli*. There is in the neighbourhood a place now called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

Section IX.

(a) It is still called, as mentioned above, *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

(b) Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar had their villas in the neighbourhood of *Baiæ*, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, as Seneca says, more like military works than a rural seat. *Scias non villas esse, sed castra.* Epist. 51.

Section XI.

(a) See her attempt prevented by Seneca, Annals, xiii. s. 5.

Section XII.

(a) This eclipse was the day before the kalends of May, that is, on the 30th of April, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian æra 59. See Pliny, lib. ii. s. 70.

(b) For Junia Calvina, see Annals, xii. s. 8; and the Genealogical Table, No. 62. For Calpurnia, Annals, xii. s. 22.

(c) For Lollia Paulina, see Annals, xii. s. 22.

(d) Iturius and Calvisius banished by Nero; Annals, xiii. s. 22.

(e) Silana was also banished by Nero: Annals, xiii. s. 22.

Section XIV.

(a) This was a circus begun by Caligula, and finished by Nero. The church of St. Peter is built on this spot, and the obelisk which stood there, was placed before St. Peter's, at a vast expence, by Pope Sextus V.

Section XV.

(a) We are told by Dio, that Ælia Catella, a woman of four-score, exposed herself and old age to scorn, by dancing on the stage, among the court sycophants of the time. Dio, lib. lxi.

(b) Suetonius says, that the leaders of this new society had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them. In Neron. s. 20.

Section XVI.

(a) Brotier compares this poetical patchwork to the *bouts rimés*, which exercised the minor poets of France in the last century.

Section XVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) It does not appear when this man was expelled the senate. The account of that affair is lost. It is probable that this is the Livineus Regulus, who is mentioned, Annals, iii. s. 11.

Section XVIII.

(a) He was afterwards restored to his rank. Hist. i. s. 17. For the Cyrenians, see the Geographical Table.

(b) This African king, according to Livy, epitome lxx. died A. U. C. 658, and left all his possessions to the Roman people.

Section XIX.

(a) Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worst of crimes. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere.* Annals, iv. s. 52. He is

praised by Quintilian as an orator of considerable eloquence. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XX.

(a) Suetonius informs us, that Nero was the first that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several arts of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called *Neronia*. In Neron. s. 12.

(b) This theatre has been mentioned, book xiii. s. 54. It was built A. U. C. 699.

(c) Among the Roman knights there were four *Decuriæ* appointed to exercise jurisdiction. Suetonius says, that Caligula, to relieve the judges from the fatigue of business, added a fifth class to the former four. In Calig. s. 16.

Section XXI.

(a) The pantomime performers were brought to Rome from *Tuscany*, A. U. C. 390. Livy, lib. vii. s. 2.

(b) The people called *Thurii* inhabited part of Lucania. The spectacle of horse-races was invented by them, and exhibited at Rome A. U. C. 140. Livy, lib. i. s. 35.

(c) Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, A. U. C. 608, and obtained the title of *Achaicus*. Velleius Paterc. lib. i. s. 13.

Section XXII.

(a) This place received its name from its proximity to the Simbruine Lakes, and was thence called *Sublaqueum*. Brotier says, it is now *La Badia di Subjaco*.

(b) The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in

aqueducts of great labour and expence by Ancus Marcius, one of the Roman kings. See Pliny, lib. xxxi. s. 3.

Section XXIII.

(a) See Annals, xiii. s. 41.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

(c) For the Mardians, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(a) For the Tauranitii, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXV.

(a) The shortest way to Hyrcania was by the Caspian Sea; but, for the reason given by Tacitus, the *Red Sea* was thought more eligible.

Section XXVI.

(a) Tiridates was brother to Vologeses, the Parthian king. See Annals, xii. s. 51; and book xiii. s. 37 and 41.

(b) Archelaus was king of Cappadocia. See Annals, ii. s. 42.

(c) Pharasmanes has been often mentioned as king of *Iberia;* Polemon, king of *Pontus;* Aristobulus king of *Armenia Minor;* and Antiochus of *Commagene.*

(d) See Annals, xii. s. 45.

Section XXVII.

(a) For Laodicea, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Suetonius says, Nero struck off the supernumerary candidates, and, to make them some compensation

for the delay of their hopes, assigned them posts of honour in the legions. In Neron. s. 15.

(b) The sum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexatious appeal, was one third of the money in dispute between the parties. The words of the law were, *Assertor, si provocet, in ejusmodi tertiam cavere debet, quanti causa æstimata est.*

(c) The people of Mauritania.

(d) For an account of Vibius Crispus, an advocate who accumulated immense riches, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

Section XXIX.

(a) Petronius Turpilianus, during his consulship, was the author of a law, called *Lex Petronia*, by which the master was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleasure, to compel any of his slaves to fight the wild beasts; but a just ground of complaint appearing before the proper magistrate, that mode of punishment was enforced. *Dominis potestas ablata est ad bestias depugnandas suo arbitrio servos tradendi. Oblato tamen judici servo, si justa sit domini querela, sic pœnæ tradetur.* Digest. lib. xlviii. tit. 8. He was also the author of a decree, called the *Turpilian Decree*, by which all, who began a prosecution, and either harassed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cause, were subjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations so just, that it is wonderful, says Brotier, how they escaped the notice of Tacitus.

(b) For the inactivity and unwarlike spirit of Aulus Didius, see Annals, xii. s. 40; and Life of Agricola, s. 14.

(c) For the Silures, see the Geographical Table.

(d) Mona, now *Anglesey*.

Section XXX.

(a) For an account of the Druids, see Cæsar's Commentaries.

Section XXXI.

(a) Prasutagus, king of the Icenians. See the Geographical Table. The outrages committed by the Romans are strongly painted by the late Mr. Glover, after his master Tacitus.

Section XXXII.

(a) The world at that time was overcast by the gloom of superstition. The Romans often knew how to avail themselves of it; but the Barbarians in this instance had the advantage.

(b) Houses seemed to be inverted in the water; but the laws of optics were not considered by the Britons. In their minds every thing was a prognostic.

Section XXXIII.

(a) London, even at that time, was the seat of trade and commerce. If it has gone on increasing for above 1700 years, till it is now become the greatest city in the world, it is because industry has been protected by a constitution, which has improved during the whole time, and is now the wonder and the envy of surrounding nations.

(b) Verulanum, now *Verulum* near *St. Albans*, in *Hertfordshire*. The great Bacon has made the name immortal.

Section XXXV.

(a) Dio has put into the mouth of Boadicea a long, a tedious, and enervate speech.

Section XXXVII.

(a) According to Camden, the camp of the second legion was in *Monmouthshire*, at a place called, by the Britons, KAER LHEION, *Urbs Legionis*, the city of the legions. The place where this battle was fought is not ascertained; but it is evident that Suetonius had collected his forces from all quarters.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) There is reason to infer from a passage in the History, book i. s. 59, that the eight auxiliary cohorts were Batavians.

Section XL.

(a) Antonius Primus will be seen, in the History of Tacitus, acting the part of an able general.

(b) The man who thinks poverty the worst of evils, will not be long before he thinks honesty a ragged virtue. Seneca has left a very different maxim. *Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis.* Epist. xvii.

(c) The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sylla he dictator, who made banishment to an island the sentence to be passed on all who should suppress a true will, or forge a false one. It appears however in the History, book ii. s. 86, that Antonius was only expelled the senate.

Section XLI.

(a) That punishment was either *exile*, *relegation* to an island, or degradation from the offender's rank. *Omnes enim calumniatores exilii, vel insulæ relegatione, aut ordinis amissione puniri placuit.* See Julius Paulus, De Injuriis, leg. xi.

Section XLII.

(a) Slaves were in the habit of saving money in order to purchase their freedom. See the case of Paris the comedian, book xiii. s. 27. See also Seneca, epist. lxxx.

(b) Caius Cassius has been mentioned to his honour, book xii. s. 12.

Section XLV.

(a) See a decree of the senate on this subject, Annals, xiii. s. 32.

Section XLVI.

(a) See book xii. s. 59.

Section XLVII.

(a) Pliny the elder, lib. xv. s. 4, says, that the Greeks, the inventors of every kind of vice, were the first that made oil subservient to the corruption of manners, by distributing it at their public spectacles. *Usum olei ad luxuriam vertere Græci, vitiorum omnium genitores, in Gymnasiis publicando.*

Section XLVIII.

(a) See Annals, xiii. s. 28.

(b) Capito was formerly accused by the people of Cilicia, and convicted of oppression and extortion. Annals, xiii. s. 33.

(c) The tribunitian power was assumed by Augustus, as he said, for the purpose of protecting the people. *Ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum se ferebat.* Annals, i. s. 2. It was, in fact, the whole executive power of the state vested in one man, who could, at his will and pleasure, controul the senate and all the magistrates.

(d) By this judgment Antistius was to suffer *more majorum*, that is, as Suetonius explains it, to be fastened stark naked by the neck within a forked stick, and scourged to death. Suet. in Neron. s. 49.

Section XLIX.

(a) The senate often decided, without calling on each member for his opinion, by *dividing the house; per discessionem.* Pliny the younger describes the manner of doing it: You who think so, go to that side; as many as are of a contrary opinion, go to this side. *Lex ita discessionem fieri jubet: qui hæc sentitis in hanc partem; qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite quâ sentitis.* Plinius, lib. viii. ep. 14.

(b) This was Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

Section L.

(a) This man was one of the pernicious race of informers in the reign of Domitian. Juvenal mentions him, sat. iv. ver. 123.

Section LI.

(a) Tigellinus rose from obscurity to be in high favour with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has recorded him, sat. i. ver. 155. See an account of the prodigious banquet given by this man, Annals, xv. s. 37.

Section LII.

(a) It is not settled among the critics, whether Seneca did not write some of the tragedies that bear this name.

Section LIII.

(a) Agrippa, in the year of Rome 731, retired to the isle of *Lesbos*, now *Metelin*.

(b) Mæcenas had a house and magnificent gardens near Mount Esquiline. Pliny says, that the practice of having pleasure-grounds within the walls of a city, was unknown, till Epicurus led the way at Athens. *Primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus, otii magister. Usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura.* Pliny, lib. xix. s. 4. The gardens of Epicurus are become proverbial.

(c) Seneca was a native of Spain; born at *Corduba*, now *Cordoue*.

(d) Seneca had a number of villas and extensive gardens. Juvenal mentions

—— Magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.

SAT. x. ver. 16.

The name of one of his villas was *Nomentanum*, as appears epist. cx. where he says, *Ex Nomentano meo te saluto.*

(e) This confirms the account given by Dio of his

immoderate riches; but perhaps that historian exaggerates, when he imputes insurrections in Britain to the exactions of Seneca.

Section LVI.

(a) In the Annals, book xi. we have seen Vitellius consul for the third time.

(b) Volusius has been mentioned as an honest man, who acquired his wealth by honourable means, and lived to a great age. Annals, xiii. s. 30.

Section LVII.

(a) For Rubellius Plautus, see this book, s. 22. For Cornelius Sylla, see book xiii. s. 47.

(b) Rubellius Plautus was the son of Rubellius Blandus and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 76.

Section LIX.

(a) This philosopher is praised by Pliny as an author of distinguished merit. Musonius has been also much commended for his moral doctrine.

(b) Her father, the emperor Claudius.

Section LXI.

(a) This was Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, mentioned in s. lx.

Section LXII.

(a) For Anicetus, the murderer of Agrippina, see this book, s. 7.

Section LXIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Julia, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was banished by the emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 794.

(c) The emperor Claudius her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poisoned. See Annals, xii. s. 67; and Annals, xiii. s. 16.

Section LXIV.

(a) Nero was adopted by Claudius her father, and consequently was brother to Octavia.

Section LXV.

(a) Doriphorus, according to Dio, was private secretary to Nero. Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, has been often mentioned. He was dismissed from all his employments by Nero. See Annals, xiii. s. 14. Brotier says that his monument was found near Rome, in the year 1720.

(b) For more of Piso, see Annals, xv. s. 48.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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